PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK;

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, A.M.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

THE SECOND EDITION,

BY

THE REV. FRANCIS WRANGHAM, M.A. F.R.S.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MAWMAN; F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; G. WILKIE AND J. ROBINSON; J. WALKER; W. CLARKE AND SONS; CADELL AND DAVIES; T. WINGRAVE; C. LAW; J. AND A. ARCH; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN; B. AND R. CROSBY; WHITE, COCHRANE, AND CO.; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; J. BOOKER; J. RICHARDSON; J. M. RICHARDSON; BLACK, PARRY, AND CO.; J. HATCHARD; J. MURRAY; R. SCHOLEY; R. BALDWIN; CRADOCK AND JOY; T. HAMILTON; J. FAULDER; GALE, CURTIS, AND FENNER; AND G. AND S. ROBINSON; AND WILSON AND SONS, YORK.

1813.

CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

THE

LIFE

OF

PHILOPŒMEN.

SUMMARY.

His birth and education: personal appearance: character and pursuits. His first campaigns, and other employments. His taste for study. He goes to the assistance of Megalopolis. His first exploit. He is wounded by a javelin: his fortitude upon the occasion. He serves in Crete, and upon his return is elected general of the horse. He kills the general of the enemies' cavalry. Sketch of the Achæan league. Changes introduced by Philopœmen in the arming and manœuvring of the troops. He directs the prevalent passion for luxury to military equipage: gains a victory over Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmon; and kills him with his own hand. Honour paid to him at the Achæan games. High opinion entertained of him by strangers. He recovers Messene from the tyrant Nabis: at the earnest entreaty of the Gortynians, passes into Crete; and by that measure offends the Megalopolitans, who however are prevented by the Achæans from declaring him an outlaw. He is worsted at sea by Nabis; but defeats him twice on land, in return, within a very few days. He draws Lacedæmon into the Achæan league; refuses the magnificent presents sent him by that state; defends Sparta against Flaminius and Diophanes; but subsequently treats it with great severity. He opposes the ascendency which the Romans affect over the Achæans: goes to attack Dinocrates; is taken captive, and thrown into prison. Grief of the Achæans on receiving this intelligence, and plans to effect his release. He is poisoned by Dinocrates. His death avenged by the Achæans. His interment: honours decreed to his memory.

AT Mantinea there was a man of great quality and power named Cassander[1], who being obliged by a reverse of fortune to quit his own country, went and settled at Megalopolis. He was induced to fix there, chiefly by the friendship which subsisted between himself and Crausis[2] the father of Philopœmen, who was in all respects an extraordinary character. While his friend lived, he had all that he could wish; and, being desirous after his death to make some return for his hospitality, he educated his orphan son, in the same manner as Homer represents Achilles to have been educated by Phœnix, and formed him from his infancy to generous sentiments and royal virtues.

But, when he was past the years of childhood, Ecdemus and Demophanes[3] had him principally under their care. They were both Megalopolitans; who having learned the Academic philosophy of Arcesilaus[4], applied it, above all the men of their time, to action and affairs of state. They delivered their country from tyranny, by providing persons privately to take off Aristodemus; assisted Aratus[5] in driving out Nicocles, the tyrant of Sicyon: and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose government was in great disorder[6], sailed thither, settled it on the foundation of good laws, and thoroughly regulated

[1] Pausanias (viii. 49.) and Strabo call him 'Cleander;' and some MSS. of Plutarch agree with them. So it stands, likewise, in the translation of Guarini. (L.) Mantinea and Megalopolis were cities in Arcadia. Philopœmen was contemporary with T. Q. Flaminius, with whom he is here compared, and gave lessons to Polybius in the art of government.*

[2] He is called Craugis in Pausanias, in the inscription of a statue of Philopœmen at Tegeæ, and in an ancient collection of Epigrams.

[3] In Pausanias their names are Ecdelus and Megalophanes.

[4] Arcesilaus was founder of the Middle Academy, and made some alterations in the doctrine which had previously prevailed.

[5] See his Life, in the sequel of this work.*

[6] This, it appears from history, was frequently the case. Plato had refused to be their legislator, on account of their excessive prosperity. See below, in the Life of Lucullus.*

the commonwealth. But, among all their memorable actions, they valued themselves most upon the education of Philopœmen; as having rendered him, by the principles of philosophy, a common benefit to Greece. And indeed, as he came the last of so many excellent generals, Greece had an entire love for him as the child of her old age, and with his growing reputation enlarged his power. For which reason, a certain Roman calls him "The last of the Greeks;" meaning, that Greece had not produced a single illustrious man, or one that was worthy of her, after him.

His visage was not very homely[7], as some imagine it to have been; for we see his statue still remaining at Delphi. As for the mistake of his hostess at Megara, it is said to have arisen from his easiness of behaviour and the simplicity of his garb. She, having intelligence that the general of the Achæans[8] was coming to her house, was in great care and hurry to provide his supper, her husband happening to be out of the way. In the mean time Philopœmen arrived; and, as his habit was ordinary, she took him for one of his own servants or a courier, and desired him to assist her in the business of the kitchen. He presently threw off his cloke, and began to cleave some wood; when the master of the house returning, and seeing him so employed, said, "What is "the meaning of this, Philopœmen?" to which he replied, in broad Doric, "I am paying the fine of

[7] Pausanias assures us, that his visage was homely (which is the obvious inference, indeed, of the Megarensian anecdote), but at the same time declares, that in point of size and strength no man in Peloponnesus exceeded him. (viii. 49.)

[8] The word Αχαιοι, in it's most general sense, was taken for the whole population of Greece between Macedon and the isthmus of Corinth. See Homer, &c.: here, however, as well as in the Lives of Pelopidas and Aratus, it is more specifically applied to the inhabitants of that part of Peloponnesus (formerly called Ægialos) bordering on the Corinthian gulf, between Patræ and Sicyon, and of which the capital was Corinth. These were they, from whom the celebrated League took its name.*

"my deformity." Titus Flaminius, rallying him one day upon his make, said, "What fine hands "and legs you have! but then you have no belly:" and he was, indeed, very slender in the waist. This raillery, however, might rather be referred to the condition of his fortune: for he had good soldiers, both horse and foot, but very often wanted money to pay them. These stories are subjects of disputation in the schools[9].

As to his manners, we find that his pursuits of honour were too much attended with roughness and passion. Epaminondas was the person whom he proposed for his pattern; and he succeeded in imitating his activity, his shrewdness, and his contempt of riches; but his choleric contentious humour prevented his attaining the mildness, gravity, and candour of that eminent man in political disputes; so that he seemed rather fit for war, than for the civil administration. From a child, indeed, he was fond of every thing in the military way, and readily entered into the exercises which tended to that purpose; those of riding (for instance) and handling of arms. As he seemed well-formed likewise for wrestling, his friends and governors advised him to improve himself in that art; which gave him occasion to ask, "Whether that species of exercise would be inju-"rious to his proficiency as a soldier?" They told him the truth; that the habit of body and manner of life, the diet and exercise, of a soldier and a wrestler were radically different: that the wrestler must have much sleep and full meals, with stated times of exercise and rest, every little departure from his rules being extremely prejudicial; whereas the soldier should be prepared for the most irregular changes of living, and should chiefly endeavour to bring himself to bear the want of food and sleep

9 Where every subject, political, historical, and moral, was discussed. Plutarch's 'Morals' indeed, as they are called, are probably only a collection of his disquisitions, delivered to general or select audiences in Greece or at Rome.*

without difficulty. Philopœmen, hearing this, not only avoided and derided the exercise of wrestling himself, but subsequently, when he came to be general, to the utmost of his power exploded the whole art by every mark of disgrace and expression of contempt; satisfied that it rendered persons, who were the most fit for war, quite unable to fight upon necessary occasions*.

When his governors and preceptors had quitted their charge, he engaged in those private incursions into Laconia, which the city of Megalopolis made for the sake of booty; and in these he was sure to be the first to march out, and the last to return.

His leisure he spent either in the chase, which increased both his strength and activity, or in the tillage of the field; for he had a handsome estate twenty furlongs from the city, to which he went every day after dinner, or after supper: and at night he threw himself upon an ordinary mattress, and slept as one of the labourers. Early in the morning he arose, and went to work along with his vine-dressers or ploughmen; after which he returned to the town, and employed his time about the public affairs with his friends and with the magistrates. What he gained in the wars, he laid out upon horses or arms, or in the redeeming of captives: but he endeavoured to improve his own estate the justest way in the world, I mean by agriculture [10]. Neither did he apply himself to it in a cursory manner, but with the full conviction, that the surest way not to

* See the Life of Alexander, Vol. IV.

[10] Columella says, 'agriculture is next a-kin to philosophy.' It does, indeed, afford a person who is capable of speculation an opportunity of meditating upon nature; and such meditations enlarge the mind. (L.) He subsequently mentions it, as 'the only method of improving one's income noble in itself, and fit for a gentleman to pursue.' And it has, fortunately for England, so appeared of late (1806) to some of her most illustrious characters.*

touch what belongs to others is to take care of one's own[11].

He spent some time in hearing the discourses, and studying the writings, of philosophers; but selected such, as he thought might assist his progress in virtue. Among the poetical images in Homer, he attended to those which seemed to excite and encourage valour: and, as to other authors, he was most conversant in the Tactics of Evangelus[12], and in the Histories of Alexander; being persuaded that learning should conduce to action, and not be regarded as mere pastime, and an idle fund for talk. In the study of tactics, he neglected those plans and diagrams which are drawn upon paper, and exemplified the rules in the field: considering with himself as he travelled, and pointing out to those about him, the difficulties of steep or broken ground; and how the ranks of an army must be extended or closed, according to the difference made by rivers, ditches, and defiles. He seems, indeed, to have set rather too high a value upon military knowledge; embracing war as the most extensive exercise of virtue, and despising those who were not versed in it, as persons entirely useless.

He was now thirty years old, when Cleomenes[13] king of the Lacedæmonians surprised Megalopolis by night, and having forced the guards, entered and seized the market-place. Philopœmen ran to succour the inhabitants, but though he fought with the most determined and desperate valour, he was not

11 See a similar idea, and the sentiment will bear repetition, in the Parallel of Aristides and Cato, Vol. II.*

12 This author is mentioned by Arrian, who himself wrote a Discourse upon Tactics. He observes that the treatise of Evangelus, like those of many others on that subject (Polybius, Eupolemus, Iphicratus, Posidonius, &c.) were become of little use in his time, because they had omitted several things as sufficiently known in their days, which however at that later period stood in need of explication. This may serve as a caution to future writers.

13 B. C. 223.

able to drive out the enemy. He prevailed however so far, as to give the people an opportunity of stealing out of the town, by maintaining the combat with the pursuers, and drawing Cleomenes upon himself; so that he retired the last with difficulty, and after prodigious efforts, being wounded and having had his horse killed under him. When they had gained Messene, Cleomenes made them an offer of their city with their lands and goods. Philopœmen, perceiving that they were glad to accept the proposal and in haste to return, strongly opposed it; representing to them in a set speech, that Cleomenes did not wish to restore them their city, but to be master of the citizens, in order that he might be more secure of keeping the place: that he could not long sit still to watch empty houses and walls, for the very solitude would force him away. By this argument, he diverted the Megalopolitans from their purpose; but at the same time he furnished Cleomenes with a pretence to plunder the town, and after having demolished the greatest part of it, to march off loaded with booty.

Soon afterward, Antigonus came down to assist the Achæans against Cleomenes; and finding that he had possessed himself of the heights of Sellasia [14], and blocked up the passages, drew up his army near him, with a resolution to force him from his post. Philopœmen with his citizens was placed among the cavalry, supported by the Illyrian foot, a numerous and gallant body of men who closed that extremity. They had orders to wait quietly, until from the other wing, where the king fought in person, they should see a red robe lifted up on the point of a spear. The Achæans kept their ground, as they had been directed; but the Illyrian officers with their corps attempted to break in upon the Lacedæmo-

• [14] This was a city of Laconia on the river Œnus, and was destroyed by Aratus after a victory over the Lacedæmonians. See Pausan. viii. 49, Liv. xxxiv. 28, and Polyb. ii. near the end.•

nians. Euclidas the brother of Cleomenes, seeing this opening made in the enemy's army, immediately ordered a party of his light-armed infantry to wheel about and attack the rear of the Illyrians, thus separated from the horse. This being carried into execution, and the Illyrians harassed and broken, Philopœmen perceived that it would be no difficult matter to drive off that light-armed party, and that the occasion called for it. He first mentioned the thing to the king's officers; but they rejected the hint, and considered him as no better than a madman, his reputation being not yet sufficiently great or respectable to justify such a movement. He therefore himself with his Megalopolitans attacked them, threw them into confusion, and routed them with considerable slaughter. Desirous still farther to encourage Antigonus' troops, and quickly to penetrate into the enemy's army, which was now in some disorder, he quitted his horse; and advancing on foot in his horseman's coat of mail and other heavy accoutrements, upon rough uneven ground full of springs and bogs, he was making his way with extreme difficulty, when he had both his thighs pierced with a javelin, so that the point came through on the other side, and the wound was great though not mortal. At first he stood still, as if he had been shackled, not knowing what method to take. For the thong in the middle of the javelin rendered it difficult to be drawn out, nor would any one about him venture to do it. At the same time the fight being at the hottest, and likely to be soon over, honour and indignation urged him on to take his share in it; and therefore by moving his legs backward and forward, he broke the staff, and then ordered the pieces to be pulled out. Thus set free he ran, sword in hand, through the first ranks to charge the enemy; at the same time animating the troops, and firing them with emulation.

Antigonus having gained the victory, to try his

Macedonian officers, demanded of them, "Why "they had led on the cavalry, before he had given "the signal? By way of apology, they said, "They "were obliged against their will to come to action, "because a young man of Megalopolis had begun "the attack too soon." "That young man," re- "plied Antigonus smiling, "has performed the "office of an experienced general."

This action, as we may easily imagine, raised Philopœmen into high reputation; so that Antigonus was very desirous of having his service in the wars, and offered him a considerable command with great appointments: but he declined it, because he knew that he could not bear to be under the direction of another. Not choosing however to remain idle, and hearing that there was a war in Crete, he sailed thither, to exercise and improve his military talents. When he had served there some time along with a set of brave men, who were not only versed in all the stratagems of war, but temperate besides, and strict in their manner of living, he returned with so much renown to the Achæans, that they immediately appointed him general of the horse. Here he found that the cavalry made use of small and mean horses, which they picked up as they could, when they were called to a campaign; that many of them shunned the wars, and sent others in their place; and that shameful ignorance of service and timidity universally prevailed. The former generals had connived at all this, because it being a degree of honour among the Achæans to serve on horseback, the cavalry had much power in the commonwealth, and considerable influence in the distribution of rewards and punishments. But Philopœmen would not yield to such considerations, or grant them the least indulgence. Instead of that, he applied to the several towns, and to each of the young men in particular; rousing them to a sense of honour, punishing them when necessity required, and practising them in exercise, reviews, and mock-battles in

places of the most public resort. By these means, in a little time, he brought them to surprising strength and spirit; and what is of the greatest consequence in discipline, rendered them so light and quick, that all their evolutions and movements, whether performed separately or together [15], were executed with a degree of readiness and address, causing their motion to resemble that of one body actuated by an internal voluntary principle. In the signal battle, which they fought with the Ætolians and Eleans near the river Larissus [16], Demophantus general of the Elean horse advanced before the lines at full speed against Philopœmen. Philopœmen, preventing his blow, with a push of his spear brought him dead to the ground. The enemy, seeing Demophantus fall, immediately fled. And now Philopœmen was universally celebrated, as not inferior to the young in personal valour, nor to the old in prudence, and as equally well qualified both to fight and to command.

Aratus was indeed the first who raised the commonwealth of the Achæans to dignity and power. For whereas before they were in a low condition, scattered in unconnected cities, he combined them in one body, and gave them a moderate civil government worthy of Greece. And as it happens in running waters that, when a few small bodies stop, others stick to them, and one part strengthening another, the whole becomes one firm and solid mass, so it was with Greece. At a time when she was weak and easily broken, dispersed in a variety of independent cities, the Achæans first united themselves; and then attaching some of the neighbouring cities, by assisting them to expel their tyrants, while others voluntarily joined them for the sake of that unanimity, which they beheld in so well-constituted a government, they conceived the design of in-

[15] Κατ' ουλαμον, which Plutarch elsewhere defines a body of fifty horse (Qu. forty-nine, and a captain?) drawn up in a square.*
[16] B. C. 209.

corporating Peloponnesus into one great power. During the life-time of Aratus indeed, they attended the motions of the Macedonians, and made their court first to Ptolemy, and subsequently to Antigonus and Philip, who had all a considerable share in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopœmen had taken upon him the administration, the Achæans finding themselves respectable enough to oppose their strongest adversary, ceased to call in foreign protectors. With regard to Aratus, he (as we have related in his Life) not being so fit for conflicts in the field, managed most of his affairs by address and moderation, and the friendships which he had contracted with foreign princes: but Philopœmen being a warrior, vigorous and fortunate and successful in his first battles, raised the ambition of the Achæans together with their power; for under him they were accustomed to conquer, and to prosper in almost all their undertakings.

In the first place, he corrected their errors in drawing up their forces, and in the make of their arms. For hitherto they had used bucklers, which were easy indeed to manage on account of their smallness, but too narrow to cover the body, and lances much shorter than the Macedonian pikes: they answered the end in fighting at a distance, but were of little use in close engagement. As for the order of battle, they had not been accustomed to draw up in a spiral form [17], but in the square battalion, which having no front either of pikes or of

[17] The Macedonian phalanx occasionally changed from the square to the spiral or orbicular form, and sometimes to that of the *cuneus* or 'wedge.'

M. Ricard has a tactical note upon this passage, but it's evolution is not very easy, nor perhaps very necessary.*

Ταξις εις σπειραν might also be translated 'to draw up in platoons,' the word σπειρα (derived from σπαω) signifying 'a band,' or 'platoon.' But then in the original it would rather have been σπειρας, than σπειραν: besides, the context seems to determine it to the former signification. It was necessary for the phalanx to throw themselves into the spiral or orbicular form, whenever they were surrounded, in order that they might face and fight the enemy on every side.

shields fit to lock together, like that of the Macedonians, was easily penetrated and broken. Philopœmen altered both; persuading them, instead of the buckler and lance, to take the shield and pike; to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs; and, instead of a light and desultory manner of fighting, to adopt one more close and firm. After he had brought the youth to wear complete armour, and on that account to consider themselves as invincible, his next step was to reform them with respect to luxury and the love of expense. He could not indeed entirely cure them of the distemper, with which they had long been infected, the vanity of appearance; for they had vied with each other in fine clothes, in purple carpets, and in the rich service of their tables. But he began with diverting their love of show from superfluous things to those that were useful and honourable, and soon prevailed upon them to retrench their daily expenditure upon their persons, and to display their splendour and magnificence in their arms and the whole equipage of war. The shops therefore were seen strewed with plate broken in pieces, while breast-plates were gilt with the gold, and shields and bridles studded with the silver. On the parade the young men were managing their horses, or exercising their arms. The women were observed adorning helmets and crests with various colours, or embroidering military vests both for the cavalry and the infantry. The very sight of these things inflaming their courage, and calling forth their vigour, made them adventurous and ready to face any danger. For much expense in other things which attract our eyes tempts to luxury, and too often produces effeminacy, the indulgence of the senses relaxing the vigour of the mind; but, in this instance, it strengthens and improves it. Thus Homer represents Achilles, at the sight of his new armour, exulting with joy[18], and

[18] She drops the radiant burthen on the ground;
Clang the strong arms, and ring the shores around.

burning with impatience to use it. When Philopœmen had persuaded the youth thus to arm and to adorn themselves, he mustered and trained them continually, and they entered with pride and pleasure into his exercise. For they were highly delighted with the new form of the battalion, which was so cemented, that it seemed impossible to break it. Their arms likewise became easy and light in the wearing, because they were charmed with the richness and beauty; and they longed for nothing more than to use them against the enemy, and to try them in a real encounter.

At that time the Achæans were at war with Machanidas the tyrant of Lacedæmon, who with a numerous and powerful army was watching his opportunity to subdue the whole of Peloponnesus. As soon as intelligence was brought that he had attacked the Mantineans, Philopœmen took the field, and marched against him. They drew up their armies near Mantinea, each having a considerable number of mercenaries in pay, beside the whole force of their respective cities. The engagement being begun, Machanidas with his foreign troops put to flight the spearmen and the Tarentines, who were placed in the Achæan front; but afterward, instead of falling upon that part of the army who stood their ground, and breaking them, he went in pursuit of the fugitives [19]; and, when he should have endeavoured to rout the main body of the Achæans, left his own uncovered. Philopœmen after so indifferent a beginning had made light of the misfortune, and represented it as a trifle, though

Back shrink the Myrmidons with dread surprise,
And from the broad effulgence turn their eyes,
Unmoved, the hero kindles at the show,
And feels with rage divine his bosom glow;
From his fierce eye-balls living flames expire,
And flash incessant like a stream of fire.

Pope, Il. xix. 18.

[19] B. C. 208. See Polyb. xi., who does not however entirely agree with Plutarch in the details of this action.*

the day seemed to be entirely lost. But when he saw what an error the enemy had committed, in quitting their foot and going upon the pursuit, by which they left him a good opening, he did not try to stop them in their career after the fugitives, but suffered them to pass by; and when they were at a great distance, rushed upon the Lacedæmonian infantry, now left unsupported by their right wing. Stretching therefore to the left he took them in flank, destitute as they were of a general, and far from expecting an attack; for they thought Machanidas absolutely sure of victory, when they saw him following the enemy.

After he had routed this infantry with dreadful slaughter (for four thousand Lacedæmonians, it is said, were left dead upon the spot) he marched against Machanidas, who was now returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. There was a broad and deep ditch between them, where they both strove awhile, the one to get over and fly, and the other to prevent him. Their appearance was not like that of a combat between two generals, but between two wild beasts [or, rather, between a hunter and a wild beast] whom necessity reduces to fight. Philopœmen was the great hunter. The tyrant's horse being strong and spirited, and violently spurred on both sides, ventured to leap into the ditch; and was raising his fore-feet in order to gain the opposite bank, when Simmias and Polyænus, who always fought by the side of Philopœmen, rode up and levelled their spears against Machanidas. But Philopœmen prevented them; and perceiving that the horse with his head reared aloft covered the tyrant's body, he turned his own a little, and pushing his spear at him with all his force, tumbled him into the ditch. The Achæans, in admiration of this exploit and of his conduct in the whole action, set up his statue in brass in this very attitude at Delphi.

It is reported that at the Nemean games, a little

after he had gained the battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen (who had then been chosen a second time general, and was at leisure on account of that celebrated festival) first caused this phalanx in the best order and attire, to pass in review before the Greeks, and to make all it's tactical movements with the utmost vigour and agility. After this, he entered the theatre, while the musicians were contending for the prize. He was attended by the youth, in their military clokes and scarlet vests. These young men were all well made, of the same age and stature, and though they showed great respect for their general, yet appeared not a little elated themselves with the many glorious battles which they had fought. At the moment of their entrance, Pylades the musician happened to be singing to his lyre the Persæ of Timotheus[20], and was pronouncing the verse with which it begins,

"Freedom's illustrious palm for Greece I won;"

when the people, struck with the grandeur of the poetry sung by a voice equally excellent, turned their eyes from every part of the theatre upon Philopœmen, and welcomed him with the loudest plaudits. They caught in idea the ancient dignity of Greece, and in their present confidence aspired to the lofty spirit of former times.

As young horses require their accustomed riders, and are wild and unruly when mounted by strangers, so it was with the Achæans. When their forces were under any other commander, upon every pressing emergency they grew discontented, and looked round for Philopœmen; and if he did but make his appearance, they were soon satisfied again, and

[20] Timotheus was a Dithyrambic poet of Miletus, the capital of Ionia, who died B. C. 356. (L.) According to Pausanias iii. 12., he added four, or as Suidas says, two new strings to the lyre, making the whole number eleven. This musician, however, as appears from the date, was not the Timotheus of Dryden's 'Alexander's Feast;' but a namesake of his of Bœotia.*

fitted for action by the confidence which they reposed in him: well knowing that he was the only general, whom their enemies durst not look in the face, and that they were ready to tremble at his very name and character.

Philip king of Macedon, thinking that he could easily subjugate the Achæans again, if Philopœmen were out of the way, privately sent some persons to Argos to assassinate him. But this treachery was seasonably discovered, and brought upon Philip the hatred and contempt of all the Greeks. The Bœotians were besieging Megara, and hoped to be soon masters of the place; when, a report (though not a true one) being spread among them that Philopœmen was approaching to the relief of the besieged, they left their scaling-ladders already planted against the walls, and fled.

Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon after Machanidas, had taken Messene by surprise. Philopœmen, who was out of command, had endeavoured to persuade Lysippus, then general of the Achæans, to succour the Messenians: but not prevailing upon him, because (he said) the enemy was within, and the town irrecoverably lost, he went himself; taking with him his own citizens, who waited neither for form of law nor commission, but followed him on the natural principle, that he who excels should always command[21]. When he was near the place, Nabis was informed of it; and not daring to wait, though his army lay quartered in the town, stole out at another gate with his troops and precipitately marched off, thinking himself fortunate in effecting his escape. He did indeed escape, but Messene was rescued.

Thus far every thing in Philopœmen's character is heroic. But as for his going a second time into Crete at the request of the Gortynians, who were

[21] This can only be admitted in the most critical extremities, and even then it is a hazardous expedient: for what mob shall decide upon excellence.

engaged in war and wished him to be their general, it has been blamed either as an act of cowardice, in deserting his own country when she was distressed by Nabis, or as an unreasonable ambition to exhibit himself to strangers. And it is true, the Megalopolitans were then so hard pressed, that they were obliged to shut themselves up within their walls, and to sow corn in their very streets; the enemy having laid waste their lands, and encamped almost at their gates. Philopœmen therefore, by entering into the service of the Cretans at such a time, and taking a command beyond sea, furnished his enemies with a pretence to accuse him of basely flying from the war at home.

Yet it was urged in his vindication that, as the Achæans had chosen other generals, Philopœmen being unemployed bestowed his leisure upon the Gortynians, and took a command among them at their earnest entreaty. For he had an extreme aversion from idleness, and was desirous above all things to keep his talents, as a soldier and a general, in constant practice. This was clear from what he said of Ptolemy: when some were commending that prince for daily studying the art of war, and improving his strength by martial exercise; "Who," said he, "can praise a prince of his age, that is always preparing, and never performs?"

The Megalopolitans, highly incensed at his absence, and regarding it as a desertion, were inclined to pass an outlawry against him. But the Achæans prevented them, by sending their general [22] Aristænetus to Megalopolis; who, though he differed with Philopœmen about matters of government, would not suffer him to be declared an outlaw. Philopœmen, finding himself neglected by his citizens, drew

[22] Polybius, in his Excerpt. Leg. xli., and Livy xxxii. 19, call him Aristænus; (L.) and Polybius in particular, from his connexion with those places and events, is likely to be correct. This general was of Dymæ in Achaia, Paus. vii. 17. Polybius has drawn a fine comparison between him and Philopœmen.*

off from them several of the neighbouring boroughs; and instructed them to allege, that they were not comprised in their taxations, nor originally of their dependencies. By assisting them to maintain this pretext, he lessened the authority of Megalopolis in the general assembly of the Achæans. But these things happened some time afterward.

While he commanded the Gortynians in Crete, he did not, like a Peloponnesian or an Arcadian, make war in an open generous manner; but adopting the Cretan customs, and using their artifices and sleights, their stratagems and ambushes against themselves, he soon showed them that their devices were like the short-sighted schemes of children, when compared with the long reach of an experienced general.

Having highly distinguished himself by these means, and performed many exploits in that country, he returned to Peloponnesus with honour. Here he found Philip [23] beaten by T. Q. Flaminius, and Nabis engaged in war both with the Romans and the Achæans. He was immediately chosen general of the Achæans; but venturing to act at sea, he fell under the same misfortune with Epaminondas, the great ideas which had been formed of his courage and conduct vanishing in consequence of his inferior success in a naval engagement. Epaminondas indeed, as some assert, was unwilling that his countrymen should have any participation in naval advantages, lest "from good soldiers (as Plato expresses it [24]) they should become licentious and dissolute sailors;" and he therefore chose to return from Asia and the isles, without having effected any thing. But Philopœmen, persuaded that his skill in the land-service would ensure his success at sea [25], found

23 The last king but one of Macedon.*

24 This observation is quoted before in the Life of Themistocles, not. (15.) Vol. I.

25 How different is this from the great Condé, whom Dacier introduces (in a note upon this passage) as declaring that, if he were

to his cost how much experience contributes to victory, and how much practice adds in all things to our powers. For he was not only worsted in the sea-fight for want of skill; but having fitted up an old ship, which had been a famous vessel forty years before, and manned it with his townsmen, it proved so leaky that they were in danger of being lost. Finding that after this the enemy despised him, as a man who disclaimed all pretensions at sea, and that they had insolently laid siege to Githium [26], he set sail again; and as they did not expect him, but were dispersed without any precaution on account of their late victory, he landed in the night, burned their camp, and killed a considerable number of them.

A few days afterward, as he was marching through a difficult pass, Nabis came suddenly upon him. The Achæans were in great terror, thinking it impossible to escape out of so dangerous a passage, of which the enemy had already taken possession. But Philopœmen making a short halt, and observing at once the nature of the ground, proved that skill in drawing up an army is the capital point in the art of war. For altering a little the disposition of his forces, and adapting it to the present occasion, he easily disengaged them, without bustle, from the difficulty, and then falling upon the enemy put them entirely to the rout. When he saw that they fled not to the town, but dispersed themselves about the country; as the ground was woody and uneven, and on account of the brooks and ditches impracticable for the horse, he did not go upon the pursuit, but encamped before the evening. Concluding however that the fugitives would return as soon as it grew dark, and draw in a straggling man-

in a naval action, 'he would not so much as presume to give his opinion, but remain quietly upon the deck, and carefully observe all their motions and operations for his instruction!'*

[26] The arsenal and port of Lacedæmon, on the gulf of Laconia. See Livy xxxiv. 29.*

ner toward the city, he placed in ambush, by the brooks and hills which surrounded it, many parties of the Achæans with their swords in their hands. By these means, the chief part of Nabis' troops were cut off; for not returning in a body, but as they had been dispersed by the chance of flight, they fell into their enemies' hands, and were caught like so many birds, before they could enter the town.

Philopœmen being received upon this account with great honour and applause in all the theatres of Greece, it gave some umbrage to Flaminius, a man naturally ambitious. For, as a Roman consul, he deemed himself entitled to much higher marks of distinction among the Achæans than a man of Arcadia, and thought that as a public benefactor he ranked infinitely above him; having by one proclamation set free the whole of that part of Greece, which had been enslaved by Philip and the Macedonians.

After this, Flaminius made peace with Nabis; and Nabis was assassinated by the Ætolians. Upon which Sparta being in great confusion, Philopœmen seizing the opportunity came upon it with his army; and partly by force, partly by persuasion, induced that city to join in the Achæan league [27]. The gaining over of a city of so much dignity and power made him perfectly adored among the Achæans. And indeed Sparta was an acquisition of no small importance to Achaia, of which she was now become a member. It was also a grateful service to the principal Lacedæmonians, who hoped henceforward to have him for the guardian of their liberty. For which reason, having sold the house and goods of Nabis by a public decree, they voted the money (which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents) to Philopœmen, and determined to send it by persons deputed from their body.

Upon this occasion he evinced his integrity; that

[27] B. C. 191.*

he not only seemed, but was[28], a virtuous man. For not one of the Spartans chose to speak to a person of his character about a present; but, afraid of the office, they all excused themselves and put it upon Timolaus, to whom he was bound by the rites of hospitality. Timolaus went to Megalopolis, and was entertained at Philopœmen's house; but when he observed the gravity of his discourse, the simplicity of his diet, and the integrity of his manners, inaccessible and impregnable to the attacks of money, he uttered not a word concerning the present, but having assigned another cause for his coming returned home. He was sent a second time, but could not mention the money. In a third visit he brought it out with much difficulty, and declared the kind intentions of Sparta. Philopœmen heard with pleasure what he had to say, but immediately went himself to the people of Lacedæmon, and advised them not to try to tempt good men with money, who were already their friends, and of whose virtues they might freely avail themselves; but to buy and corrupt bad men, who opposed their measures in council, that thus silenced they might give them the less trouble: it being much better to stop the mouths of their enemies, than those of their friends. Such was Philopœmen's contempt of money.

Some time afterward Diophanes, being general of the Achæans, and hearing that the Lacedæmonians had thoughts of withdrawing from the league, determined to chastise them. In the mean while, they prepared for war, and raised great commotions in Peloponnesus. Philopœmen tried to appease Diophanes, and keep him quiet; representing to him, "That while Antiochus and the Romans were contending in the heart of Greece with two such powerful armies[29], an Achæan general should

[28] This high compliment is paid by Sallust (B. C. xvii.) to Cato, and by Plutarch to Aristides. See his Life, not. (13.) Vol. II.*

[29] In the same year, Caius Livius with the Roman fleet defeated that of Antiochus near Ephesus. (Liv. xxxiv. 44, 45.)

"confine to them his attention; and, instead of "lighting up a war at home, overlook and pass by "some real injuries." When he found that Diophanes did not hearken to him, but marched along with Flaminius into Laconia, and that they took their route toward Sparta, he did a thing which cannot indeed be vindicated by law and strict justice, but which discovers a lofty and noble daring. He got into the town himself; and, though but a private man, shut the gates against an Achæan general and a Roman consul, healed the divisions among the Lacedæmonians, and brought them back to the league.

At a subsequent period however, when he was general himself, upon some new subject of complaint against that people, he restored their exiles and put to death eighty, as Polybius informs us, or according to Aristocrates three hundred and fifty citizens. He demolished their walls, took from them great part of their territory, and added it to that of Megalopolis. All, who had been made free of Sparta by the tyrants, he disfranchised and carried into Achaia; except three thousand, who refused to quit the place, and those he sold for slaves. By way of insult as it were to Sparta, with the money thence arising he built a portico in Megalopolis. Pursuing his vengeance against that unhappy people, who had already suffered more than they deserved, by an additional cruel and most unjust procedure, he filled up the measure of it: he destroyed their constitution. He abolished the discipline of Lycurgus [30], and compelled them to give to their children and youth an Achæan education, instead of that of their own country; convinced, that their spirit could never be humbled, so long as they adhered to his institutions. Thus, brought by the weight of their calamities to have the sinews of their city cut by Philopœmen, they grew tame and submissive. Some time afterward indeed, upon application to

[30] Which had now lasted nearly seven centuries.*

the Romans, they shook off the Achæan customs and re-established their own, as far as it could be done after so much misery and corruption.

While the Romans were carrying on the war with Antiochus in Greece, Philopœmen was in a private station. But when he saw Antiochus sitting still at Chalcis, and spending his time in youthful love and a marriage unsuitable to his years[31], and the Syrians licentiously roaming from town to town without discipline or officers, he repined extremely that he was not then general of the Achæans, and scrupled not to declare that he envied the Romans their victory; "For had I been in command," said he, "I would have cut them all to pieces in the ta-"verns." After Antiochus was overcome, the Romans pressed still harder upon Greece, and hemmed in the Achæans with their power; the orators, likewise, inclined to their interest. Under the auspices of Heaven, their strength prevailed over all; and the moment was at hand when fortune, who had long veered, was to stand still. In these circumstances, Philopœmen like a good pilot struggled with the waves. Sometimes he was forced to give way a little, and yield to the times; but upon most occasions, maintaining the conflict, he endeavoured to draw over all who were considerable either for their eloquence or riches to the side of liberty. Aristænetus the Megalopolitan, who had great interest among the Achæans but always courted the Romans, declared it in council as his opinion, "That "they ought not to be opposed or disobliged in any "thing." Philopœmen heard him with silent indignation; and at last, when he could refrain no longer, exclaimed, "And why in such haste, wretched "man, to see an end of Greece?" Manius[32] the Roman consul, after the defeat of Antiochus, requested the Achæans to permit the Lacedæmonian

[31] See the Life of Flaminius, in the sequel of this work.

[32] Manius Acilius Glabrio. A. U. C. 563. An account of his victory over Antiochus has been given in the Life of Cato, Vol. II.

exiles to return, and Titus seconded him in his application: Philopœmen however opposed it, not out of any ill-will to the exiles, but because he wished them to be indebted for that benefit to himself and the Achæans, and not to the favour of Titus and the Romans. For the next year, when he succeeded to the generalship, he restored them himself. Thus his gallant spirit led him to contend with the prevailing powers.

He was elected general of the Achæans, the eighth time, when he was seventy years of age; and now he hoped not only to pass the year of his magistracy without war, but the remainder of his life in quiet. For, as the force of distempers abates with the strength of the body, so in the states of Greece the spirit of contention failed with their authority. Some avenging deity however threw him down at last, like one who with matchless speed completes the course, and stumbles at the goal. It seems, that being in company where a certain general was mentioned as an extraordinary man, Philopœmen said; "There was no great account to be "made of a man who had suffered himself to be "taken alive[33]." A few days after this Dinocrates the Messenian, who was upon particularly ill terms with Philopœmen, and indeed not upon good terms with any one on account of his profligate and wicked life, found means to draw off Messene from the league; and it was also said, that he was about to seize a little place called Colonis[34]. Philopœmen was then at Argos, sick of a fever: but upon this intelligence he hastened to Megalopolis, and reached it in one day, though it was at the distance of four hundred furlongs. Thence he presently drew out a body of horse, consisting of the nobility, but all

[33] This sentiment is finely expanded by Regulus in Horace. (Od. III. v.)*

[34] There is no such place known as 'Colonis.' Livy (xxxix. 49.) calls it 'Corone;' and Plutarch probably wrote 'Corona,' or 'Coronis.' Strabo viii. mentions the latter, as a maritime place in the neighbourhood of Messene.

young men, who from affection to his person and ambition for glory followed him as volunteers. With these he marched toward Messene, and meeting Dinocrates on Evander's Hill[35] attacked him and put him to flight. But five hundred men, who guarded the flat country, suddenly coming up, the fugitives seeing them rallied again about the hills. Upon which Philopœmen, afraid of being surrounded and desirous of saving his young cavalry, retreated over rough ground, while he himself brought up the rear, often turning on the enemy, and endeavouring to draw them entirely upon himself. Yet none of them dared to encounter him; but only shouted, and rode about him at a distance. As he often faced about and left his main body, on account of his young men, each of whom he was solicitous to put out of danger, he at last found himself alone amidst a number of the enemy. Even then however they durst not attack him hand to hand, but hurling their darts at a distance drove him upon steep and craggy places, where he could scarcely make his horse go forward, though he spurred him continually. He was still active through exercise, and for that reason his age was no hindrance to his escape; but being weakened by sickness and extremely fatigued with his journey, his horse threw him, now heavy and encumbered, upon the stones. His head was wounded with the fall, and he lay a long time speechless; so that the enemy, thinking him dead, began to turn him in order to strip him of his arms. But finding that he raised his head and opened his eyes, they gathered thick about him, bound his hands behind his back, and led him off with such unworthy treatment and gross abuse, as Philopœmen could never have dreamed he should have to suffer even from Dinocrates.

[35] 'Evander's Hill' is likewise unknown. Polybius ii., and after him Pausanias iv. 31., mentions a hill called 'Evan' (which name it, probably, had from the cries of the Bacchanals) not far from Messene.

The Messenians, elated at the news, flocked to the gates. But when they saw Philopœmen dragged along, in a manner so unworthy of the glory of his achievements and trophies, most of them were touched with pity and compassion for his misfortune. They shed tears, and contemned all human greatness as a faithless support, as mere vanity and nothing. Their tears by little and little turned to kind words, and they began to observe that they ought to remember his former benefits, and the liberty which he had procured for them by expelling the tyrant Nabis. A few of them indeed, to gratify Dinocrates, talked of torturing and executing him as a dangerous and implacable enemy, and the more to be dreaded, if he should escape after having been made prisoner and treated with such indignity. At last they put him in a dungeon called 'the Treasury,' which received neither air nor light from without, and having no doors was closed with a great stone[36]. In this dungeon they shut him up with the stone, and placed a guard around it. Meanwhile the Achæan cavalry, recollecting themselves after their flight, found that Philopœmen was not with them, and had probably lost his life. They now made a long stand, and called him with loud cries, blaming each other for having effected a base and shameful escape by abandoning their general, who had been prodigal of his own life in order to save theirs. By much search and inquiry about the country, they got intelligence that he was taken prisoner, and carried the heavy news to the states of Achaia; who, considering it as the greatest of losses, resolved to send an embassy to demand him of the Messenians, and in the mean time prepared for war.

While the Achæans were taking these resolutions, Dinocrates, who most of all dreaded time, as the likeliest thing to save Philopœmen, determined to

[36] See Liv. xxxix. 50.*

be before-hand with the league. When night therefore was come and the multitude retired, he opened the dungeon, and sent in one of his servants with a dose of poison, and with orders not to leave him till he had taken it. Philopœmen had lain down in his cloke, but was not asleep: vexation and resentment kept him awake. When he saw the light, and the man standing by him with a cup of poison, he raised himself up as well as his weakness would permit, and receiving the cup asked him, "Whether he had heard "any thing of his cavalry, and particularly of Ly-"cortas[37]?" The executioner answering that they had almost all escaped, he nodded his head in sign of satisfaction; and looking kindly upon him said, "Thou bringest good tidings, that we are not in all "respects unhappy." Without uttering another word, or breathing the least sigh, he drank off the poison and lay down again. He was already brought so low, that he could not make much struggle with the fatal dose, and it despatched him presently.

The intelligence of his death filled the whole of Achaia with grief and lamentation. All the youth immediately repaired with the deputies of the several cities to Megalopolis, where they resolved without loss of time to take their revenge. For this purpose, having chosen Lycortas for their general, they entered Messene and ravaged the country, till the Messenians with one consent opened their gates and received them. Dinocrates prevented their revenge by killing himself; and those, who had voted for having Philopœmen put to death, followed his example[38]. But such, as had been for having him likewise put to the torture, were taken by Lycortas, and reserved for more painful punishments.

When they had burned his remains, they put the

[37] B. C. 183. Lycortas was the father of Polybius the historian, who was in the preceding action, and might be then about twenty years of age.

[38] Lycortas intended to have had them beaten with rods, before they were put to death.

ashes in an urn, and returned; not in a disorderly and promiscuous manner, but uniting a kind of triumphal march with the funeral solemnity. First came the foot, with crowns of victory on their heads and tears in their eyes, and attended by their captive enemies in fetters. Polybius, the general's son, with the principal Achæans about him, carried the urn, which was so adorned with ribbons and garlands, that it was scarcely visible. The march was closed by the cavalry, completely armed and superbly mounted; expressing in their looks neither the melancholy of such a mourning, nor the joy of a victory. The people of the towns and villages on the way flocked out, as if it had been to meet him returning from a glorious campaign, touched the urn with the utmost respect, and conducted it to Megalopolis. The old men and women and children, who joined the procession, raised such a bitter lamentation, that it spread thoughout the army, and was re-echoed by the city; which, beside her grief for Philopœmen, bemoaned her own calamity, as in him she thought she had lost the pre-eminence among the Achæans.

His interment was suitable to his dignity, and the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at his tomb. Many statues were set up[39], and many honours decreed to him by the Grecian cities. But when Greece was involved in the misfortunes of Corinth, a certain Roman attempted to get them

[39] Pausanias in his Arcadics (viii. 52.) gives us the inscription, which the Tegeatæ put upon one of those statues; (L.) and, as Dacier pronounces it a composition 'of wonderful beauty,' the editor has attempted a translation of it:

In arms and councils famed, Arcadia's son,
His long career of patriot glory run,
Here Philopœmen stands—no more to wield
The sword, which won fair Freedom in the field.
This his twin trophies o'er two tyrants slain,
This Sparta blazons, rescued from her chain:
Tegea for this, to grace his gallant name,
The grateful statue dedicates to fame.*

all pulled down[40], accusing him in form (as if he had been alive) of implacable enmity to the Romans. When he had finished the impeachment, and Polybius had replied to his calumnies, neither Mummius nor his lieutenants would suffer the monuments of so illustrious a man to be defaced, though he had not a little opposed both Flaminius and Glabrio. For they made a proper distinction between virtue and interest, between honour and advantage; well concluding, that rewards and grateful acknowledgements are always due from persons obliged to their benefactors, and respect from men of merit to each other. So much concerning Philopœmen.

[40] This happened B. C. 145., thirty-seven years after his death.

THE

LIFE

OF

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

SUMMARY.

His character, and first campaigns. He is chosen consul, and despatched against Philip, king of Macedon: sets off expeditiously, and arrives in Epirus. First skirmishes between Philip and the Romans. He is informed by some shepherds of a way between the mountains, and defeats Philip. Many Greek states, won by his mildness of character, come over to the Romans. He secures their attachment, by proposing to Philip to declare them free, which the latter refuses. He gains the Thebans to his party; is continued in the command; and offers battle to Philip, which takes place on the following day. Flaminius obtains the victory. Alcæus' epigram, and Philip's reply. Flaminius grants Philip peace: his prudence upon this occasion. He procures from the senate independence for Greece, which is proclaimed at the Isthmian games. Joy of the Greeks. Reflections upon the fate of Greece. Flaminius' care to insure the continuance of her freedom. He causes it to be proclaimed a second time at the Nemean games. His gifts to the temple of Delphi. His proclamation compared with the subsequent one of Nero. He makes peace with Nabis, tyrant of Sparta. The Achæans present to him all the Romans, then prisoners in Greece. His triumph. He is sent again into Greece, to quell the troubles excited there by Antiochus. The service he does the Greeks, and the honours which they pay him in return. His repartees. He is elected censor. Origin of his quarrel with Cato. His brother expelled by Cato from the senate. Flaminius' embassy to Prusias, to demand the surrender of Annibal. That general destroys himself. Different opinions with regard to Flaminius' conduct on the occasion. Reflections in his favour.

THE person whom we place in parallel with Philopœmen, is Titus Quinctius Flaminius[1]. Those who are desirous of being acquainted with his countenance and figure, need but inspect the brasen statue[2], erected at Rome with a Greek inscription upon it opposite the Circus Maximus, near the large statue of Apollo which was brought from Carthage. As to his disposition, he was quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service. But his resentment was not in all respects like his affection, for he punished lightly and soon forgot the offence; whereas his services were lasting and complete. For the persons whom he had obliged, he ever retained a kind regard, as if instead of receiving they had conferred a favour; and, considering them as his greatest treasure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them[3]. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and not choosing to let others have any share in his great and good actions, he took more pleasure in those whom he could assist, than in those who could give him assistance[4]; looking upon the for-

[1] It ought to be written 'Flamininus' (according to Polybius, Livy, Cicero, &c.) and not 'Flaminius.' The Flaminii, indeed, were a very different family from the Flaminini. The latter were patricians, the former plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who fell at the lake of Thrasymenus, was of the plebeian family. Besides, some MSS. have it 'Flamininus;' which would be sufficient authority for the correction. But, as Plutarch has elsewhere called him Flaminius (and in this he has been followed by several modern writers) it may be sufficient, once for all, to have made this remark upon the subject.

[2] Either Plutarch must have made a very excessive estimate of the duration of this statue, or a very humble one of that of his own labours. For what satisfaction do his present readers reap from his reference? Or what indeed did the chief part of his compatriots and contemporaries; especially, if (as it has been usually believed) these Lives were written in Greece?*

[3] *Odisse quem læseris*, is a trait of human character sketched by the hand of a great master, and may be referred to the fear of retribution. To 'protect those whom you have obliged' is, perhaps, connected with the pride of patronage.*

[4] *Magis dandis, quam accipiendis beneficiis amicitias parabant*, is

mer as persons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his boyhood, he was trained up to the profession of arms. For Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth had early opportunities by service to qualify themselves for command. Flaminius served like the rest, and was first a legionary tribune under the consul Marcellus[5], in the war with Annibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuscade, and was slain; after which Flaminius was appointed governor of Tarentum, then newly retaken, and of the surrounding country. In this commission he attained not less celebrity for his administration of justice, than for his military skill; for which reason he was appointed chief director of the two colonies, sent out to the cities of Narnia and Cossa.

This inspired him with such lofty thoughts that, overlooking the previous steps by which young men ordinarily ascend (I mean the offices of tribune[6], prætor, and ædile) he aimed directly at the consulship. Supported by those colonists, he presented himself as a candidate. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius opposed him, insisting that it was an unheard-of thing for a man so young, who was yet uninitiated in the first rites and mysteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the highest office in the state. The senate referred the affair to the suffrages of the people; and the people elected him consul with Sextus Ælius, though he was then under

the high character given by Sallust (Bell. Cat. vi.) of the primitive Romans. He derived the expression probably from one, to whom he owes many similar obligations. Ου γαρ πασχοντες ευ, αλλα δρωντες, κτωμεθα τους φιλους. (Thucyd. ii. 40.)*

[5] He was appointed a tribune at the age of twenty, B. C. 207. He was consequently born B. C. 227., A. U. C. 547. Livy informs us, that he was thirty-three years of age, when he proclaimed the liberty of Greece. (xxxiii. 33.)

[6] Tribune, as a patrician, he could not be. But perhaps Plutarch here speaks in general of the

'steps in young ambition's ladder.'*

thirty years of age. The lots being cast for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminius; a circumstance extremely fortunate for the Roman people: as that department required a general, who wished to effect his object not by force and violence, but rather by gentleness and persuasion. For Macedon furnished Philip with a sufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was his principal dependence for a war of any length. She it was, who supplied him with money and provisions, with strong-holds and places of retreat, and (in a word) with all the materials of war. So that, unless she were disengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a single battle. Besides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans; it was now first to be established by the intercourse of business: and therefore they would not so soon have embraced a foreign authority, instead of that to which they had been accustomed, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good-nature, who was more ready to avail himself of treaty than of the sword, who had a persuasive manner where he applied, was affable when applied to, and had an invariable regard to justice. But this will better appear from his actions themselves.

Titus finding that Sulpicius and Publius[7], his predecessors in command, had not entered Macedon till late in the season, and then had not prosecuted the war with vigour, but spent their time in skirmishing to gain some particular post or pass, or to intercept some provisions, determined not to act in the same manner. They had wasted the year of their consulate in the enjoyment of their new honours, and in the administration of domestic affairs, and towards its close they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, the first as consul, the second as pro-

[7] Publius Sulpicius Galba had been consul two years before, and Publius Villius Tappulus (whom Livy, xxxii. 1., calls 'Publius Villius') the intermediate year.

consul. But Titus, ambitious to distinguish his consulship by some important expedition, quitted the honours and prerogatives which he possessed in Rome; and having requested the senate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and selected three thousand men as yet in full vigour and spirits and the glory of the field, from those troops, who under Scipio had subdued Asdrubal in Spain and Annibal in Africa, he crossed the sea and arrived safe in Epirus. There he found Publius encamped over-against Philip (who had been a long time defending the fords of the river Apsus[8], and the adjoining straits) and unable to effect any thing, on account of the natural strength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army, and sent Publius home, began with examining the character of the country. It's natural fortifications are equal to those of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys and delicious meads. To the right and left runs a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this flows the river Apsus, resembling the Peneus both in it's appearance and it's rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each side, so that there is left only a narrow craggy path cut out close by the stream, which is not easy to be passed by an army at any time, and when guarded is not passable at all.

Flaminius was advised, therefore, to take a compass through Dassaretis along the Lycus[9], which was an easy passage. But he was afraid that, if he removed too far from the sea into a barren and ill-cultivated country, while Philip avoided a battle, he might eventually want provisions; and be constrain-

[8] Livy (xxxii. 10.) says 'Aous,' a river near the former, and which, from proximity of place and resemblance of name, it might easily be mistaken. See Strabo vii. Philip's object was to prevent the Romans from penetrating into Macedon.*

[9] A city, it would appear from Livy, xxxii. 33. and 9 Palmerius would read 'Lyncus,' a Macedonian city, which gave it's name to the province Lyncestis. See Thucyd. iv. 83, 124, 129.*

ed, like the general before him, to retreat to the sea without having accomplished any thing effectual. This determined him to make his way up the mountains sword in hand, and to force a passage. But Philip's army, being possessed of the heights, showered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several sharp contests ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, but none of them were decisive.

In the mean time, some shepherds of those mountains came to the consul with the discovery of a winding-way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promised to conduct his army to the top at the farthest in three days. And, as an evidence and confirmation of the truth of what they stated, they brought with them Charops the son of Machatas prince of the Epirots, who was a friend to the Romans, and gave them assistance, though privately, from fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he sent away a tribune with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. The shepherds in bonds led the way. In the day-time they lay still in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched forward; for the moon was then at the full. Flaminius, having detached this party, let his main body rest the three days, and had only some slight skirmishes with the enemy to engage their attention. But the day that he expected those who had taken the circuit to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light-armed, and dividing them into three parts, himself led the van; marching his men along the narrowest path, by the side of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts, but he maintained the combat notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground; and the other two parties fought with all the spirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with astonishing ardour.

Meanwhile the sun arose, and a smoke appeared at a distance, not very strong, but like the mist of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy (for it

came from the troops, who had reached the top) it was not observed by the latter. Amidst the fatigue of the engagement, the Romans themselves were in doubt whether it was a signal or not, but they inclined to believe it to be what they wished. And when they saw it increase, so as to darken the air, and mount higher and higher, they were well assured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Upon this they set up loud shouts, and charging the enemy with augmented vigour, pushed them into the most craggy places. The shouts were re-echoed by those behind at the top of the mountain. And now the Macedonians fled with the utmost precipitation. Yet there were not above two thousand slain, the pursuit being impeded by the difficulty of the ascent. The Romans however pillaged the camp, seized the money and slaves, and became absolute masters of the pass. They then traversed the whole of Epirus, but with such order and discipline that, though they were at a considerable distance from their ships and the sea, and had not the usual monthly allowance of corn or convenience of markets, they yet spared the country, which at the same time abounded in every thing. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his passage or rather flight through Thessaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations and retire to the mountains, had burned the towns, and had given as plunder to his men whatever was too abundant or cumbersome to be carried off; having thus, as it were, yielded up the country to the Romans. The consul therefore made a point of prevailing with his men to respect it in their march, as ceded to them, and now their own.

The event quickly showed the benefit of this good order. For, as soon as they entered Thessaly, all its cities declared for them; and the Greeks within Thermopylæ longed for the protection of Flaminius, and resigned to him their hearts. The Achæans renounced their alliance with Philip, and by a solemn

decree resolved to take part with the Romans against him. And though the Ætolians, who at that time were strongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garrison and defend their city, they refused it [10]; and, having sent for Flaminius, put themselves into his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus that, when he first beheld from an eminence the disposition of the Roman army, he said, "I observe nothing barbarian-like in "the ranks of these barbarians." All indeed, who once saw Flaminius, spoke of him in the same terms. They had heard the Macedonians represent him as the fierce commander of a host of barbarians, who was come to destroy, and to enslave every thing: and, when afterward they met a young man of a mild aspect, who spoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honour, they were extremely struck with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip seeming inclined to treat, Flaminius came to an interview with him [11], and offered him peace and friendship with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garrisons from their cities. And as he rejected those terms, it was obvious even to the partisans of Philip, that the Romans were not come to fight against the Greeks, but for the Greeks against the Macedonians.

The rest of Greece having voluntarily acceded to the confederacy, the consul entered Bœotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Ma-

[10] Distrusting their word, or knowing them to be a capricious and faithless people. Polybius has, in several places, given them this character.*

[11] This interview lasted three days. (Polyb. xvii.) Brachyllas, mentioned below (for so according to this author, his name should be written) was a great philippiser, who was subsequently assassinated. Livy, xxxiii. 28., calls him 'Barcillus.'*

cedonian interest on account of Brachyllelis, but they honoured and respected Flaminius, and were willing to preserve the friendship of both. Flaminius received them with great goodness, embraced them, and went on slowly with them, asking various questions and entertaining them with discourse, on purpose to give his soldiers time to come up. Thus advancing insensibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city along with them. They did not indeed quite relish the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came so well attended. Then, as if he had not been master of the town, he endeavoured by persuasion to bring it to declare for the Romans; king Attalus seconding him, and using all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince (it seems) in his eagerness to serve Flaminius, exerting himself more than his age could bear, was seized, as he was speaking, with a giddiness or rheum which made him swoon away. A few days afterward, his fleet conveyed him into Asia, where he died. The Bœotians took part with the Romans.

As Philip sent an embassy to Rome, Flaminius also despatched his agents to procure a decree of the senate prolonging his commission if the war continued, or else empowering him to make peace[12]. For his ambition made him apprehensive that, if a successor were sent, he should be robbed of all the honour of the war. His friends managed matters so well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and immediately marched into Thessaly to carry on the war against Philip. His army consisted of more than twenty-six thousand men, of whom the Ætolians furnished six thousand foot and three hundred horse. Philip's forces were about equal in number. They marched therefore against

[12] See Polyb. xvii., and Liv. xxxii. 36., &c. and for their subsequent stations in the field, xxxiii. 6.*

each other, and arrived near Scotusa, where they proposed to decide the affair with the sword. The vicinity of two such armies had not the usual effect, of striking the officers with a mutual awe; on the contrary, it increased their courage and ardour: the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whose valour and power Alexander had rendered so illustrious; and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more respectable enemy than the Persians, that they should raise the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius therefore exhorted his men to behave with the utmost courage and gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adversaries in so glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other side Philip, in order to address his army, ascended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying-place [13], either not knowing it to be so, or in his hurry not attending to it. There he began an oration, such as is usual before a battle; but the omen of a sepulchre spreading a dismal melancholy among the troops, he stopped in confusion, and put off the action till another day.

Next morning at day-break, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a mist darkened the plain; and, as the day came on, a foggy air descending from the hills covered all the ground between the two camps. Those therefore who had been despatched on both sides to seize posts or to make discoveries, soon meeting unawares, engaged at the Cynoscephalæ, which are the sharp tops of many small hills standing opposite each other, and are so called from the resemblance [to the heads of dogs]. The success of these skirmishes was various on account of the unevenness of the ground, the same parties sometimes flying and sometimes pursuing,

[13] Neither Polybius, nor Livy (ib. 9, 10.), mentions this piece of superstition: but both of them notice the elephants employed by Flaminius in the ensuing action with so much effect, which Plutarch wholly omits.*

and reinforcements were sent on both sides as the combatants were seen to be alternately hard-pressed and giving way; till at length, the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip, in the right wing, advanced from the rising ground with his whole phalanx against the Romans; who could not, even the bravest of them, stand the shock of the united shields and the projected spears [14]. But Flaminius observing the enemy's left wing separated and intersected by the hills, and having no hopes on the side upon which his troops had retreated, hastened to the other, and there charged the enemy; where on account of the inequality and roughness of the country they were unable to preserve the compactness of form, or line their ranks to any considerable depth, and were forced to fight man to man in heavy and unwieldly armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous strength, while it keeps in one body, and preserves it's union of locked shields; but when that is destroyed, each particular soldier loses his force, as well on account of the form of his armour, as because the strength of each consists rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his single person. When these were routed, some gave chace to the fugitives; others took in flank the Macedonians, who were still fighting: the slaughter was prodigious, and the wing lately victorious was soon broken in such a manner, that they threw down their arms and fled. There were not fewer than eight thousand slain, and about five thousand were taken prisoners. That Philip himself escaped, was chiefly owing to the Ætolians; who began to plunder and ravage the camp, while the Romans were busied in the pursuit, so that at their return they found nothing left for themselves.

This, from the first, occasioned mutual quarrels

14. The pike of the fifth man in file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore an amazing strength in the phalanx, while it stood firm. But it had, likewise, it's inconveniences. It could not act at all, except in a level and clear field. (Polyb. xvii. sub fin.)

and reproaches. But afterward Flaminius was much more sensibly hurt, when the Ætolians ascribed the victory to themselves [15], and endeavoured to give a similar impression to the Greeks. This report got such ground, that the poets and others, in the verses, &c. which were composed and sung upon this occasion, places them before the Romans. The verses most in vogue were the following:

Stranger! unwept, unhonoured with a grave,
See thrice ten thousand bodies of the brave!
The fierce Ætolians, and the Latian power
Led by Flaminius, ruled the vengeful hour—
Æmathia's scourge! beneath whose stroke they bled;
And, swifter than the roe, the mighty Philip fled.

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purposely misrepresented the number of the slain. The epigram was indeed in every body's mouth, but Flaminius was much more affected by it than Philip; for the latter parodied Alcæus, as follows:

Stranger! unleaved, unhonoured e'en with bark,
This tree, the gibbet of Alcæus, mark!

But Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praise of Greece, was not a little provoked; and therefore managed every thing subsequently by himself, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their resentment; and, when Flaminius had admitted proposals for an accommodation, and received an embassy for that purpose from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece, that he had sold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have destroyed that empire,

[15] Polybius (xvii.) informs us, that the Macedonians in the first encounter had the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains, of which they had taken possession. And the latter, he affirms, would in all probability have been put to flight, had they not been supported by the Ætolian cavalry.

which first enslaved the Greeks. These speeches, though groundless, much perplexed the allies; but Philip coming in person to treat[16], and submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all suspicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He restored to Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to renounce all claim upon Greece; fined him a thousand talents; took away all his ships, except ten; and sent Demetrius, one of his sons, as hostage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy use of the present, and wisely provided for the future. For Annibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans and at this time an exile, being at the court of Antiochus[17], exhorted that prince to meet fortune who now opened her arms to him; and Antiochus himself finding his power very considerable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of Great, began to think of universal monarchy, and particularly of setting himself against the Romans. Had not Flaminius therefore in his wisdom foreseen this, and concluded a peace[18], Antiochus might have joined Philip in the war with Greece; and those two kings (then the most powerful in the world) making a common cause, might have involved Rome afresh in conflicts and dangers, as alarming as those which she had experienced in the war with Annibal. But Flaminius, by thus interposing an intermediate space of peace between the two wars, and finishing the one before the other be-

[16] See Polyb. xvii. and Liv. xxxiii. 13.*

[17] This is a mistake. Annibal did not arrive at the court of Antiochus till the year after Flaminius had proclaimed the liberty of Greece at the Isthmian games; Cato and Valerius Flaccus, the consuls of that year, having sent an embassy to Carthage to complain of him, upon which he privately left the city. (Liv. xxxiii. 48, 49.)

[18] Fluminius, according to Polybius, was induced to conclude a peace, upon learning that Antiochus was marching towards Greece with a powerful army; and Philip, he was afraid, might thereby be induced to continue the war.

gan, cut off at once the last hope of Philip and the first of Antiochus.

The ten commissioners sent by the senate to assist Flaminius advised him to set the rest of Greece free, but to keep garrisons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, in order to secure them in the event of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians, always vehement in their accusations, vehemently laboured to excite a spirit of insurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius to loose 'the shackles of Greece;' for so Philip used to term those cities. They asked the Greeks, "If they did "not find their chain very comfortable, now it was "more polished, though heavier than before; and "if they did not consider Flaminius as the greatest "of benefactors, for having unfettered their feet and "bound them by the neck." Flaminius distressed by these clamours i[illegible]red the council of deputies, and at last prevailed with them, to deliver those cities from the garrisons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be complete.

They were then celebrating the Isthmian games[19], and an innumerable company was seated to see the exercises. For Greece, now enjoying full peace after a length of wars, and big with the expectation of liberty, had come together in great crowds upon this festive occasion. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, a herald went forth and made proclamation; "That the Roman senate, and Titus "Quinctius Flaminius the general and proconsul, "having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, "took off all impositions and withdrew all garrisons "from Greece, and restored liberty and their own laws "to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, "Achæans, Phthiotæ, Magnesians, Thessalians, and "Perrhæbians."

At first, the proclamation was not generally or

[19] These games were so named, from being celebrated in the isthmus of Corinth. They had been originally instituted by Sisyphus, and revived by Theseus.*

distinctly heard, but a confused murmur ran through the theatre; some wondering, some questioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had said. Silence being again commanded, the herald raised his voice, so as to be clearly understood by the whole assembly. The shout which they gave in the transport of joy was so prodigious, that it was heard as far as the sea. The people left their seats; there was no farther regard paid to the diversions; all hastened to embrace and to address the preserver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts, which have often been given of the effect of loud shouts, were then verified. For the crows, which happened at that time to be flying over their heads, fell down into the theatre. The breaking of the air seems to have been the cause. For the sound of many united voices being violently strong, the parts of the air are separated by it, and a void is left which affords the birds no support. Or perhaps the force of the sound strikes the birds like an arrow, and kills them in an instant. Or possibly a circular motion is caused in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the sea by the agitations of a storm [20].

If Flaminius, as soon as he saw the assembly risen and the crowd rushing toward him, had not avoided them and slipped aside, he must have been surrounded and in all probability suffocated by such a multitude. When they had almost spent themselves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow-citizens they happened to see, they embraced and caressed again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feasting and merriment. There doubtless redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and discourse of the state of Greece: they observed, "That notwithstanding the "many dreadful wars in which she had been engaged "for liberty, she had never gained a more secure or

[20] Val. Max. iv. 8. mentions the same fact; and a similar instance is recorded in the subsequent Life of Pompey, Vol. iv.*

"agreeable enjoyment of it, than at present when "others had fought for her; that glorious and important prize having hardly cost them a drop of "blood, or a single tear: that, of human excellences, "valour and prudence were only seldom met with, but "that justice was still more uncommon: that the "Agesilauses, Lysanders, Niciases, and Alcibiadeses "knew how to manage a war, and to gain victories "both by sea and land; but not how to apply "their success to generous and noble purposes. So "that with the exception of the battles of Marathon, Salamis, Platææ, and Thermopylæ, and the "actions of Cimon upon the Eurymedon and near "Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other purpose "but to bring the yoke upon herself: all the trophies, which she had erected, were monuments of "her dishonour, and at last her affairs were ruined "by the unjust ambition of her chiefs. But these "strangers, who had scarcely a spark of any thing "Grecian left [21], who hardly retained a faint tradition of their ancient descent from us, from whom "the least inclination or even word in our behalf "could not have been expected; these strangers "have run the greatest risks and submitted to the "greatest labours, to deliver Greece from her cruel "and tyrannical masters, and to restore her to liberty."

These were the reflexions which the Grecians made, and by the actions of Flaminius, which were quite in unison with his proclamation, they were abundantly justified. For he immediately despatched Lentulus into Asia to set the Bargyllians free, and Titillius [22] into Thrace to draw Philip's garrisons out of the towns and adjacent islands. Publius Villius set sail, in order to treat with Antiochus about

[21] According to Dion. Halic. Rome was stocked with inhabitants at first chiefly from those Grecian colonies, which had settled in the south of Italy before the time of Romulus.

[22] Polybius and Livy call him 'Lucius Stertinius.' The Bargylians were a Carian people.

the freedom of the Grecians under his sway. And Flaminius himself went to Chalcis, and thence sailed to Magnesia, where he removed the garrison, and replaced the government in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean games, he settled the whole order of them in the most correct manner, and upon that occasion caused liberty to be again proclaimed by the crier. And as he passed through the other cities, he strongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a strict course of justice, and domestic peace and unanimity. He healed their divisions: he restored their exiles. In short, he took not more pleasure in conquering the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other; and their liberty now appeared the least of the benefits, which they had received at his hands.

It is said, that when Lycurgus the orator had delivered Xenocrates the philosopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were hurrying him to prison for the tax paid by strangers, and had prosecuted them for their insolence, Xenocrates subsequently meeting Lycurgus' children, said to them, "Children, I have made a noble return to your father "for the service he did me: for all the world praise "him for it." But the returns, which attended Flaminius and the Romans for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praises alone, but justly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors set over them by Rome, but even sent for them, and delivered themselves into their hands. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings when injured by other kings, had recourse to them for protection. So that, the Deity perhaps likewise co-operating, in a short time the whole world became subject to their dominion. Flaminius also valued himself most upon the liberty, which he had bestowed on Greece. For, having dedicated some silver bucklers together

with his own shield at Delphi, he put upon them the following inscription:

Ye Spartan horsemen, twins of race divine!
This offering Titus of Æneas' line
Presents, oblation proud to liberty:
Titus, who bade the sons of Greece be free.

He offered likewise to Apollo a golden crown, with these verses inscribed upon it:

This crown, which scatters far it's golden rays,
On thy ambrosial locks see Titus place!
O grant him, Phœbus, bright in fame to shine,
Who led the warriors of Æneas' line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth; by Flaminius on that occasion, and by Nero in our own days. It was granted, both times, during the celebration of the Isthmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed by a herald; but Nero himself declared the Grecians free, and at liberty to be governed by their own laws, in an oration which he made from the rostrum in the public assembly. This however happened long afterward [23].

Flaminius next undertook a very just and honourable war against Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon; but, in this case, he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though he might have taken him prisoner, he would not; but struck up a league with him, and left Sparta unworthily in bondage. Whether it was that he feared, if the war were protracted to any length, he might be superseded by a successor sent from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it [24], or in his passion for

[23] Two hundred and sixty-three years.

[24] Livy touches upon this reason; but at the same time he mentions others, more to the honour of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the siege of Sparta might have lasted a considerable time. The enemy's country was so exhausted, that it could not supply him with provisions, and it was difficult to procure convoys

fame, was jealous of the reputation of Philopœmen: a man who upon all occasions had distinguished himself among the Greeks, and had particularly in that war given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct; insomuch that the Achæans gloried in him, as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the same respect in their theatres. This deeply chagrined Flaminius; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, should be held in equal admiration with a Roman consul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not want apologies for his conduct; "He had "put an end to the war," he said, "because he "foresaw he could not destroy the tyrant, without "involving all the Spartans in the mean time "in heavy calamities."

The Achæans decreed to Flaminius many honours; but none seemed equal to his services, except one present, which pleased him above all the rest. It was this: the Romans, who had had the misfortune to be taken prisoners in the war with Annibal, had been sold for slaves, and dispersed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. Their sad reverse of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were still more so, when they met their sons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and saw them free while they themselves were slaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their masters, though his heart sympathised with their distress. But the Achæans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a

from any other quarter Besides, Villius was returned from the court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the peace with that [illegible]ce was not to be depended upon. In fact, he had already en[illegible]d Europe with a fleet and an army more numerous than before. [illegible]d what forces had they to oppose to him, in the event of a rup[illegible]re, if Flaminius continued to employ his in the siege of Sparta? (xxxiv. 33, 34.)

man, and having collected them together made Flaminius a present of them, just as he was going to embark; so that he set sail with the highest satisfaction, having found a glorious recompence for his glorious services, a return suitable to a man of such humane sentiments and such a lover of his country. This, indeed, made the most illustrious part of his triumph. For these poor men got their heads shaved and wore the cap of liberty, as the custom of slaves is upon their manumission [25], and in this habit followed his chariot at his triumph. But to add to the spendour of the show, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and spears, and the other spoils borne in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not small; for, as Itanus [26] relates it, there were carried in this triumph three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of unwrought gold, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy of silver, fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen pieces of coined gold called Philippics; besides which, Philip was indebted a thousand talents. But the Romans were subsequently induced, chiefly by Flaminius' mediation, to remit this debt; Philip was declared their ally, and his son, who had been with them as an hostage, was sent home.

After this, Antiochus passed over into Greece with a large fleet and army, and solicited the states to rise in arms and to join him. The Ætolians, who had long been very ill-affected to the Romans, took his part, and suggested (as a basis, and pretence for the war) that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free

[25] Allusions to this custom abound in the ancient writers:

Ut ego hodie raso capite calvus capiam pileum, &c.

(Plaut. Amphitr. I. i.)

This ceremony at Rome was performed in the temple of Feronia.

[26] To 'Itanus,' the editors of Amyot's French version ingeniously prefix the syllable 'Tud.' Tuditanus is mentioned as a writer, both by Macrob. Sat. i. 13, 16., and Plin. H. N. xiii. 13.*

already; but as he had no better cause to assign, they instructed him to cover his attempt with that splendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing upon this account a revolt in Greece, as well as the strength of Antiochus, sent the consul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminius his lieutenant[27] for the sake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed such as were yet friends in their fidelity, and prevented those who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the respect which they bore him; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a disease. There were a few indeed so entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his interest did not prevail with them; yet even these, though he was much irritated and exasperated against them at present, he saved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylæ and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Asia. Upon this, the consul Manius went against some of the Ætolians, and besieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magnesians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aparantians on the other: and Manius himself, having sacked the city of Heraclea, besieged Naupactus, at that time in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, touched with compassion for Greece, went from Peloponnesus to the consul by water, and began to remonstrate with him for suffering Philip to reap the fruits of his victory: adding, that while he, to gratify his resentment, was spending his time about one town, the Macedonians were sub-

[27] According to Livy, it was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius Flaminius (his brother) who was appointed lieutenant to Glabrio. (L.) (xxxvi. 1.) Plutarch's account however is the more robable, for the reason subjoined in the text. M. Ricard has a ng note on the word 'Lieutenant,' but it does not appear of fficient importance to justify transcription.*

duing whole provinces and kingdoms[28]. The besieged happened to see Flaminius, called to him from the walls, stretched out their hands, and begged his interposition. He gave them no answer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterward, however, he discoursed with Manius so effectually, that he appeased his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to send deputies to Rome to petition for favourable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to encounter, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcideans. The consul was highly incensed against them, on account of the marriage which Antiochus had celebrated among them, even after the war was begun; a marriage every way unsuitable, as well as unseasonable, for he was far advanced in years, and the bride extremely young. The person with whom he thus fell in love was the daughter of Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcideans entirely into the king's interest, and they suffered him to make use of their city as a place of arms. After the battle, he had fled with the utmost precipitation to Chalcis; and taking with him his young wife, his treasures, and his friends, sailed thence to Asia. And now Manius in his indignation marched directly against Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appease his resentment. At last, by his assiduities with him and the most respectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him, he succeeded. The Chalcideans, thus saved from destruction, consecrated the most beautiful and the noblest of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius; and such inscriptions as these are to be seen upon them to this day: "The people dedicated this Gymnasium to Titus and Hercules:" and again elsewhere; "The people consecrate the Delphinium to Titus and

[28] See Liv. xxxvi. 31. for a more enlarged detail.*

Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days a priest of Titus is formally elected and declared; and upon occasions of sacrifice to him, when the libations are over, they sing a hymn, the greatest part of which on account of it's length I omit, and only give the conclusion:

With Rome's pure faith let echo ring;
Her hallow'd faith, ye maidens, sing!
Still, as our strains to heaven aspire,
Jove, Rome, and Titus wake the lyre!
Titus, our saviour, claims our praise:
To him then grateful pæans raise[29]!

The rest of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours; and what realised those honours, and added to their lustre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his moderation. For if he happened to be at variance with any one upon account of business, or about a point of honour (as for instance with Philopœmen, and with Diophanes general of the Achæans) he never indulged malignity, or carried his resentment into action; but let it expire in words, in such expostulations as the freedom of public debates may seem to justify. No man indeed ever found him vindictive, but he often discovered a hastiness and levity of temper. Setting this aside, he was the most agreeable man in the world, and a pleasantry mixed with strong sense distinguished his conversation.

Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpose of conquering the island of Zacynthus[30], he told them, "It was as dangerous for them to put their "heads out of Peloponnesus, as it was for the tor-

[29] This passage is considered as a remarkable one by the editors of Amyot's French version, implying the apotheosis of a living mortal: and the worship thus paid is the subject of a curious dissertation by the Abbé Mongault, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. i. The duration, as well as the character, of this superstitious institution is worthy of attention. The lapse of less than three centuries usually effaces popular gratitude.*

[30] *Mod.* Zante.*

"toise to trust his out of his shell." In the first conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occasion to say, "Titus, you come "with a numerous retinue, whereas I come quite "alone;" Flaminius answered, "No wonder that "you come alone, for you have killed all your "friends and relations[31]." Dinocrates the Messenian, being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that disguise. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and entreated his assistance in a design, which he had conceived, to withdraw Messene from the Achæan league. Flaminius answered, "I "will consider of it; but I am surprised that you, "who have conceived such great designs, can sing "and dance at a carousal." And when Antiochus' embassadors represented to the Achæans how numerous the king's forces were, and to make them appear still more so, reckoned them up by all their different names; "I supped once," said Flaminius, "with a friend; and upon my complaining of the "number of dishes, and expressing my wonder "how he could furnish his table with such an im- "mense variety; 'Be not uneasy about that,' said "my friend, 'for it is all hog's flesh, and the differ- "'ence is only in the dressing and the sauce.' In "like manner I say to you, my Achæan friend, be "not astonished at the number of Antiochus' forces, "at these pikemen, these halberdiers, and these cui- "rassiers; for they are all Syrians, only distinguish- "ed by the trifling arms which they bear."

After these illustrious actions in Greece, and the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created censor. This is the chief dignity in the state, and the perfection, as it were, of all its honours[32]. He had for collegue the son of Marcellus, who had been five times consul. They expelled four

[31] See Livy xl. 3, 4.*
[32] See the Life of Camillus, not. (5.) Vol. I.

senators, who were men of no particular note: and they admitted as citizens all who offered themselves, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, out of opposition to the nobility, procured such orders from the commons. Two of the greatest and most powerful men of those times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. The former of these Flaminius appointed president of the senate, as the first and best man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely quarrelled, upon the following unhappy occasion[33]: Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all respects; a man quite abandoned in his pleasures, and totally regardless of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy, whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day as they were drinking, the boy making his court to Lucius said; "I love you so tenderly, "that preferring your satisfaction to my own, I left "a show of gladiators to come to you, though I "have never yet seen a man killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, replied; "If that be all, "you need not be in the least uneasy, for I will "soon cure your longing." Upon which, he ordered a convict to be brought from the prison; and, having sent for one of his lictors, commanded him to strike off the man's head, in the room where they were carousing. Valerius Antius writes, that this was done to gratify a mistress. • And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gaulish deserter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and, to gratify is minion, killed him with his own hand; but Cato t is probable) said this, for the purpose of aggra-ating the charge. For that the person killed was

33 See the Life of Cato, Vol. II., and also Liv. xxxix. 42., who gives Valerius Antias' account.*

not a deserter, but a prisoner and a condemned one too, appears from many writers; and particularly from Cicero, in his Treatise upon Old Age, where he introduces Cato himself giving that statement of the matter.

Upon this account Cato, when he was censor, and undertook to remove all obnoxious persons from the senate, expelled Lucius, though he was of consular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected dishonour upon himself; and they both went into the assembly in the form of suppliants, and besought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to assign his reason for having fixed such a stigma upon so illustrious a family. The request appeared reasonable. Cato without the least hesitation came forward, and standing up with his collegue interrogated Titus, whether or not he knew any thing of that feast. Titus answering in the negative, Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare on oath, whether it were not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the brand of infamy to be just, and conducted Cato home with great honour from the tribunal.

Titus, deeply concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the senate quashed and annulled all the contracts, leases, and purchases which Cato had made, relating to the public revenues; and stirred up many and violent prosecutions against him. But I know not whether he acted well or agreeably to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man, who had only done what became a lawful magistrate and a good citizen, for the sake of one who was a relation indeed, but a most unworthy one, and who had only met with the punishment he deserved. On a subsequent exhibition of shows, however, the people being assembled in the theatre, and the senate (according to custom) in the most honourable row, Lucius was observed to seat himself in an humble

and dejected manner upon one of the lowest benches. This excited general compassion. The people could not bear to see it, but incessantly called out to him to change his place; till he went to the bench allotted to the consular party[34], who made room for him.

The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found sufficient matter of employment in the wars, of which we have given an account. And his serving in the army as a tribune, after he had been consul, when no one required it of him, was regarded with a favourable eye. But after he had arrived at an age which excused him from all employments, he was censured for indulging a violent passion for fame, and a youthful impetuosity in that inactive season of life. To some excess of this kind seems to have been owing his behaviour with respect to Annibal[35], at which the world was not a little

34 The distinction of places for the senators and knights, established by Tarquinius Priscus (Liv. i. 35.) at the Great Games, had fallen into neglect; for the senators were not permanently separated from the people till A. U. C. 560, nor the knights till twenty-seven years afterward by C. Roscius Otho. See Liv. xxxiv. 54., Suppl. xcix. 3. The mixture likewise of men and women at the public shows (though prohibited, as appears from a passage near the end of the Life of Sylla, before the time of Plutarch) is often referred to by Ovid, in his Amatory Poems, as then subsisting.*

35 Flaminius was only about forty-four years of age, when he went embassador to Prusias. It was not therefore an unseasonable desire of a public character, or an extravagant passion for fame, which was blamed in him upon this occasion, but an unworthy persecution of a great though unfortunate man. We are inclined, however, to think that he had secret instructions from the senate for what he did; for it is not probable, that a man of his mild and humane disposition would choose to hunt down an old unhappy warrior: and Plutarch in a subsequent passage confirms this opinion. (L.) For an account of Annibal's death, see Livy xxxix. 51, 52. We may farther remark, with a former annotator, the inconsistency of this allusion to the exemptions of age in a writer, who has expressly treated the question, 'Whether or not a man in advanced life might to concern himself in the administration of public affairs;' and often affirms, with justice, that no age can authorise a good man in withdrawing himself from the service of his country.

offended. For Annibal having fled from Carthage, his country, took refuge at the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had lost the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Annibal was again forced to fly; and after wandering through many countries, at length settled in Bithynia, and put himself under the protection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they paid no attention to it, considering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and cast off by fortune. Flaminius however, being sent by the senate upon an embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Annibal at his court, could not endure that he should be suffered to live. And though Prusias used much intercession and entreaty in behalf of a man, who came to him as a suppliant, and lived with him under the sanction of hospitality, he could not prevail.

It seems there was an ancient oracle, which thus prophesied concerning the end of that general,

Libyssan earth shall hide the bones of Annibal.

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Libya. But in Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Annibal lived. Having always however a distrust of Prusias on account of his timidity, and dreading likewise the machinations of the Romans, he had some time before ordered seven subterraneous passages to be dug beneath his house; which were continued a long way under ground, and terminated in several distant places, all of them nearly indiscernible from without. By those passages, as soon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his escape; but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloke about his neck, and ordered his servant

to put his knees upon his back and pull with all his force, and not to leave twisting till he had quite strangled him. Others inform us that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," said he, "from "their anxieties, since they think it too tedious "and dangerous to wait for the death of a poor "hated old man. Yet shall not Titus gain a con"quest worth envying, or suitable to the generous "proceedings of his ancestors, who sent to caution "Pyrrhus, though a victorious enemy, against the "poison that was prepared for him."

Thus Annibal is said to have died. When the intelligence was brought to the senate, many in that august body were highly displeased. Flaminius appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions to procure the death of a chieftain, now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird which through age had lost it's tail and feathers, and suffered to live in that condition. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a passion for fame, and to be recorded to after-times as the destroyer of Annibal[36]. Upon this occasion, they recollected and admired more than ever the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for after he had vanquished Annibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable and deemed invincible, he neither insisted on his banishment, nor demanded him of his fellow-citizens; but, as he had embraced him at the conference preceding the battle, so likewise after it, when he settled the conditions of peace, he offered not the slightest contumely or insult to his misfortunes.

[36] If this was really the dastardly motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into his destruction of that illustrious general, it would hardly be possible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of so base an action.

It is reported, that they met again at Ephesus; and Annibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus suffered it and walked on without the least concern. They subsequently fell into conversation about great generals, and Annibal asserted that Alexander was the greatest general the world had ever seen, Pyrrhus the second, and he himself the third. Scipio smiled at this, and said, "But in what rank would you have placed yourself, "if I had not conquered you?" "Oh, Scipio!" said he, "then I should not have placed myself the "third, but the first[37]."

The generality, admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the more fault with Flaminius for taking the spoils of an enemy whom another man had slain. There were some indeed, who applauded the thing, and observed; "That so long as Annibal "lived, they must have regarded him as a fire, "which required only to be blown into a flame. "That, when he was in the vigour of his age, it "was not his bodily strength or his right-hand, "which was so dreadful to the Romans; but his "capacity and his experience, together with his "innate rancour and hatred to their name. And "that these are not altered by age; for the native "disposition still over-rules the manners: whereas "fortune, far from remaining the same changes "continually, and by new hopes invites those to "new enterprises, who were ever at war with us in "their hearts." And subsequent events contributed still more to Flaminius' justification. For in the first place Aristonicus, the son of a harper's daughter, upon the strength of his being reputed the natural son of Eumenes, filled the whole of Asia with tumult and rebellion: and Mithridates next, after such strokes as he had encountered from Sylla and Fimbria, and so terrible a destruction among

[37] This is recorded by Livy xxxv. 14., and (with some variation) by Plutarch himself, in his Life of Pyrrhus.*

his troops and officers, rose up stronger than ever against Lucullus both by sea and land. Annibal, indeed, was never brought so low as Caius Marius had been. For he enjoyed the friendship of a king, from whom he received liberal supplies, and with whose officers both in the navy and army he had important connections; whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and compelled to beg his bread. But the Romans, who had laughed at his African wanderings and distresses, soon afterward bled in their own streets under his rods and axes, and prostrated themselves at his feet. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little at this moment, which is of sure continuance; and that the changes which we have to experience terminate only with our lives. For this reason, some inform us that Flaminius did not act from himself; but that he was joined in commission with Lucius Scipio, and that the sole purpose of their embassy was to procure Annibal's death[38]. As we have no account after this of any political or military act of Flaminius, and only know that he died in his bed, it is time to proceed to the parallel.

FLAMINIUS AND PHILOPŒMEN

COMPARED.

IF we consider the extensive benefits which Greece received from Flaminius, we shall find that neither Philopœmen, nor other Greeks more illustrious than Philopœmen, will stand the comparison with him. For the Greeks always fought against Greeks; but Flaminius, who was not of Greece,

[38] See Livy xxxix. 51., where Annibal is represented as laying this to the charge of the Romans in his last speech.*

fought for that country. And at a time when Philopœmen, unable to defend his fellow-citizens who were engaged in a dangerous war, passed over into Crete, Flaminius having vanquished Philip in the heart of Greece, set cities and whole nations free. If we examine their battles, it will appear that Philopœmen, while he commanded the Achæan forces, killed more Greeks, than Flaminius in asserting the Grecian cause killed Macedonians.

As to their failings, ambition was the fault of Flaminius, and obstinacy that of Philopœmen. The former was passionate, and the latter implacable. Flaminius left Philip in his royal dignity, and pardoned the Ætolians: whereas Philopœmen, in his resentment against his country, robbed her of several of her dependencies. Besides, Flaminius was always a firm friend to those, whom he had once served; but Philopœmen, merely for the purpose of indulging his anger, was ever ready to destroy the merit of his former favours. For he had been a great benefactor to the Lacedæmonians; yet he subsequently demolished their walls, and ravaged their country, and in the end entirely changed and overturned their constitution. Nay, he seems to have sacrificed his life to his passion and perverseness, by too hastily and unseasonably invading Messenia; instead of taking, like Flaminius, every precaution for his own security and that of his troops.

But Philopœmen's military experience was perfected by his many wars and victories. And, while Flaminius decided his dispute with Philip in two engagements, Philopœmen by conquering in an incredible number of battles left fortune no room to question his skill.

Flaminius moreover availed himself of the power of a flourishing commonwealth, and raised himself by it's strength; but Philopœmen distinguished himself at a time, when his country was upon the decline. So that the success of the latter is to be ascribed solely to himself, and that of the former to

all the Romans. The one had good troops to command; and the other made those good, whom he commanded. And though the achievements of Philopœmen, being performed against Greeks, do not prove him fortunate, yet they prove him courageous. For, where other things are equal, eminent success must be owing to superior excellence. He had to do with two of the most warlike of the Grecian nations; the Cretans who were the most artful, and the Lacedæmonians who were the most valiant: and yet the former he mastered by policy, and the latter by bravery. Add to this, that Flaminius had his men ready armed and disciplined to his hand; whereas Philopœmen had the armour of his to alter, and their discipline to new-model. So that the things most contributing to victory were the invention of the one, while the other only practised what was already in use. Accordingly, Philopœmen's personal exploits were many and signal; but we find nothing of that kind remarkable in Flaminius. On the contrary, Archedemus a certain Ætolian said, by way of raillery, "While I ran with my drawn "sword to charge the Macedonians, who stood firm "and continued fighting, Titus was standing still, "with his hands lifted up toward heaven and pray-"ing."

It is true, all the acts of Flaminius were glorious while he was general, and during his lieutenancy too; but Philopœmen showed himself not less serviceable and active among the Achæans, while in a private capacity, than when he had the command. For, when commander-in-chief, he drove Nabis out of the city of Messene, and restored the inhabitants to their liberty; but he was only in a private station, when he shut the gates of Sparta against the general Diophanes and against Flaminius, and thus saved the Lacedæmonians. Nature indeed had given him such [illegible]nts for command, that he knew not only how to [illegible]vern according to the laws, but how to govern the [illegible]ws themselves, when the public good required it;

not waiting for the formality of the people's appointing him, but rather employing them, when the occasion demanded it. For he was persuaded, that not he who is elected by the people, but he who thinks best for the people, is the true general.

There was undoubtedly something noble in the clemency and humanity of Flaminius toward the Greeks; but there was something still nobler in the resolution, which Philopœmen showed in maintaining the liberties of Greece against the Romans. For it is a much easier matter to be liberal to the weak, than to oppose and thus to risk offending the strong. Since therefore, after all our inquiry into their characters, the superiority is far from obvious, perhaps we shall not greatly err, if we give to the Greek the palm of generalship and military skill, and to the Roman that of justice and humanity.

THE

LIFE

OF

PYRRHUS.

SUMMARY.

Origin of the kingdom of Epirus, and genealogy of Pyrrhus. His father dethroned by the sons of Neoptolemus: Pyrrhus, while an infant, rescued from their hands. Glaucias, king of Illyria, receives him under his protection, and places him on his paternal throne. He is again driven from Epirus; again returns, and divides the kingdom with Neoptolemus. The two sovereigns quarrel: Pyrrhus anticipates, and kills his collegue. He goes to assist Alexander against Antipater. Dispute and war with Demetrius. Pyrrhus compared, in military talents, with Alexander the Great. Mildness of his character. His wife and children. He seizes part of Macedon; but quickly loses it, and makes peace with Demetrius: he takes up arms a second time against that prince, whose troops desert him. Pyrrhus is declared king of Macedon. He divides it with Lysimachus: goes to Athens: gives up Macedon, and withdraws into Epirus. He meditates the assisting of the Tarentines against the Romans. Character of Cineas: his conversation with Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus embarks for Italy. His fleet shattered by a tempest. He establishes rigorous discipline at Tarentum, and encamps near the Romans: engages them. His prudence and bravery. He defeats the Romans, and takes possession of their camp. Dispatches Cineas to Rome to negociate peace. Appius Claudius opposes the measure. The senate's reply. Fabricius sent embassador to Pyrrhus, who in vain endeavours to make an impression upon him by presents and by terror. Fabricius' opinion of Epicurus. The consuls apprise Pyrrhus of his

physician's treachery. He gains a second victory. Different account of Hieronymus: Pyrrhus' remark upon his success. He receives an embassy from the Sicilians, and goes over into Sicily; takes Eryx; refuses the Carthaginians peace; offends the Sicilians, who rise up against him; returns into Italy, where he is attacked by the Mamertines; attacks the Romans, and is defeated. He passes over into Macedon, where he routs Antigonus; places a garrison of Gauls in Ægæ, who plunder the tombs of the Macedonian kings. He leads a powerful army against Sparta, and encamps near the city. The Spartans in the night-time dig a trench before it. Pyrrhus commences the attack. Exploits of some Spartans. He is at last obliged to retire. The Spartans receive succours. Pyrrhus quits Laconia, and marches to Argos; is attacked by the Lacedæmonians in his retreat, and cuts them in pieces. His son falls in the engagement. Omens upon his march. He enters Argos: Battle by night: Disastrous presage. He meets with various obstacles to his retreat; is wounded by a woman with a tile. His head cut off by a soldier. Funeral honours paid him by Antigonus.

SOME historians write, that Phaëton was the first king after the deluge [of Deucalion] who reigned over the Thesprotians and Molossians [1], and that he was one of those who came with Pelasgus into Epirus. Others say, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, after they had built the temple of Dodona [2], settled among the Molossians. At a subsequent period Neoptolemus [3] the son of Achilles, taking his people with him, possessed himself of the country, and left a succession of kings after him called Pyrrhidæ: for in his infancy he was called Pyrrhus; and he gave that name to one of his legitimate sons, whom

[1] These were inhabitants of Epirus. (*Hod.* Albania.) The latter province was remarkable for the size and strength of it's mastiffs.*

[2] This was, probably, only a druidical kind of temple.

[3] Between Deucalion's flood (about B. C. 1503.) and the times of Neoptolemus, there was a space of nearly three hundred and forty years. See Pausan. i.

he had by Lanassa the daughter of Cleodes son of Hyllus. From that time Achilles received divine honours in Epirus, being stiled in the language of that country Aspetos ('the Inimitable'). After these first kings, those who followed became entirely barbarous, and both their power and their actions sunk into the utmost obscurity. Tharrytas is the first whom history mentions, as remarkable for having polished and improved his cities with Grecian customs [4], with letters and good laws. Alcetas was the son of Tharrytas, Arybas of Alcetas; and of Arybas and Troias his queen was born Æacides. He married Phthia the daughter of Menon the Thessalian, who acquired great reputation in the Lamian war [5], and next to Leosthenes was the most considerable of the confederates. By Phthia, Æacides had two daughters named Deidamia and Troias, and a son named Pyrrhus.

But the Molossians, rising against Æacides, deposed him and brought in the sons of Neoptolemus [6]. Upon this occasion, the friends of Æacides were taken and slain: only Androclides and Angelus escaped with his infant son, though he was much sought by his enemies, and carried him off with his nurses and a few necessary attendants. The train rendered their flight difficult and slow, so that they were soon overtaken. In this extremity they placed the child in the hands of Androcleon, Hippias, and Neander, three active young men upon whom they could depend; and ordered them to make the best of their way to Megaræ, a town in Macedon: while they themselves, partly by entreaty and partly by force, stopped the course of the pursuers till evening; when, having with much difficulty gotten rid

[4] Justin (xvii. 3.) does not ascribe the civilising of the Molossians to Tharrytas, but to Arybas the son of Alcetas I., who had himself been humanised by his education at Athens.

[5] This war was declared by the Athenians against Alexander's successors, and was so denominated from Lamia, a city of Thessaly, where Antipater king of Macedon was besieged by Leosthenes.*

[6] This Neoptolemus was the brother of Arybas.

of them, they hastened to join those who carried the young prince. At sun-set they thought themselves near the summit of their hopes, but they met with a sudden disappointment. When they came to the river which runs by the town, it looked rough and dreadful, and upon trial they found it absolutely unfordable. For the current being swelled with the late rains was very high and boisterous, and the darkness added to it's horror. They now despaired of getting the child and his nurses over, without additional assistance; when perceiving some of the inhabitants on the other side, they implored them to assist their passage, and held up Pyrrhus toward them. But, though they called out loudly and entreated earnestly, the stream ran so rapidly and made such a roaring, that they could not be heard. Some time was spent, while they were thus bawling out on one side, and listening to no purpose on the other. At last one of Pyrrhus' company thought of peeling off a piece of oak-bark, and of expressing upon it with the tongue of a buckle the necessities and the fortunes of the child. This he accordingly put in execution; and having rolled the piece of bark about a stone, which was made use of to give force to the motion, he threw it to the other side. Some say, he bound it fast to a javelin, and darted it across. When the people on the other side had read it, and saw there was not a moment to lose, they cut down trees and made a raft of them, and passed the river upon it. It happened that the first man, who reached the bank, was named Achilles. He took Pyrrhus in his arms, and conveyed him over, while his companions performed the same service for his followers.

Pyrrhus and his train, having thus reached the other side in safety and escaped their pursuers, continued their route, till they arrived at the court of Glaucias king of Illyria[7]. Here they found the king

[7] *Hod.* Sclavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia.*

sitting in his palace with the queen his consort[8], and laid the child in the posture of a suppliant at his feet. The king, who stood in fear of Cassander the enemy of Æacides, remained a long time silent, considering what part he should act: while Pyrrhus of his own accord creeping closer to him, took hold of his robe, and raising himself up to his knees, by this action first excited a smile, and afterward compassion; for he thought he saw a petitioner before him, begging his protection with tears. Some say it was not Glaucias, but the altar of the domestic gods which he approached, and that he raised himself by embracing it; whence it appeared to Glaucias, that heaven itself was interested in the infant's favour. For this reason, he immediately put him into the hands of the queen, and ordered her to bring him up with his own children. His enemies demanded him soon afterward, and Cassander offered two hundred talents in return, but Glaucias refused to deliver him up; and when he attained the age of twelve years, conducted him into Epirus at the head of an army, and placed him upon the throne.

Pyrrhus had an air of majesty rather terrible, than august. Instead of teeth in his upper jaw, he had one continued bone, marked with small lines resembling the divisions of a row of teeth. It was believed, that he cured the swelling of the spleen by sacrificing a white cock, and with his right foot gently pressing the part affected[9], the patients lying upon their backs for that purpose. There was no

[8] Justin (ib.) calls this princess Beroa, and says she was of the family of the Æacidæ; which must have been the reason of their seeking refuge for Pyrrhus in that court. (L.) The same historian subsequently states that he was not re-instated in his dominions by Glaucias, but recalled by the compassion of his subjects, who assigned him tutors during his minority.*

[9] The effect of a royal touch upon morbid habits of body, was highly estimated in this country till a very late period. Dr. Johnson was carried from Lichfield to London, at the beginning of the last century, to enjoy the benefit of it!*

person, however poor or mean, to whom this relief, if requested, was refused. He received no reward, except the cock for sacrifice, and this present was very agreeable to him. It is also said, that the great toe of that foot had a divine virtue in it; for after his death, when the rest of his body was consumed, it was found entire and untouched by the flames. But this account belongs to the sequel.[10]

When he was about seventeen years of age, and seemed to be quite established in his kingdom, he happened to be called out of his own territories to attend the nuptials of one of Glaucias' sons, with whom he had been educated. Upon this occasion the Molossians again revolting drove out his friends, pillaged his treasures, and put themselves once more under Neoptolemus. Pyrrhus having thus lost the crown, and being in want of every thing, applied to Demetrius the son of Antigonus, who had married his sister Deidamia. This princess, when very young, had been promised to Alexander the son of Roxana (by Alexander the Great) but that family being unfortunately cut off[11], she was given at a proper age to Demetrius. In the celebrated battle of Ipsus, in which all the kings of the earth were engaged[12], Pyrrhus accompanied Demetrius; and, though but young, bore down all before him, and highly distinguished himself among the combatants. Neither did he forsake Demetrius, when unsuccessful, but kept for him those cities of Greece with which he had been entrusted; and, when the treaty was concluded with Ptolemy, went to Egypt as an hostage. There, both in hunting and in other exercises, he gave Ptolemy proofs of his strength and indefatigableness.

[10] See Plin. H. N. vii. 2., xxviii. 3.*

[11] See Diod. Sic. xix. 11, 105, &c.*

[12] About B. C. 301. Plutarch says ' all the kings of the earth were engaged,' because Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Cassander on one side, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, were there in person. (L.) The numbers engaged were upward of 150,000, and victory declared for the former; Antigonus having fallen in the action, and Demetrius flying into Greece.*

Observing that among Ptolemy's wives Berenice was she who had the greatest power, and was most eminent for virtue and understanding, to her he most strongly attached himself. For he had a particular art of making his court to the great, while he overlooked those that were beneath him. And as in his whole conduct he paid the utmost attention to decency, temperance, and prudence, Antigone (who was the daughter of Berenice, by her first husband Philip) was given to him, in preference to many other young princes.

Upon this account, he was held in higher honour than ever; and Antigone proving an excellent wife procured him men and money, which enabled him to recover his crown. On his arrival in Epirus, his subjects received him with open arms; for Neoptolemus, by his arbitrary and tyrannical government, had rendered himself obnoxious to the people. Nevertheless Pyrrhus, apprehending that Neoptolemus might have recourse to some of the other kings, came to an agreement with him, and associated him in the kingdom. But in process of time there were some, who privately sowed dissension and jealousies between them. Pyrrhus' chief quarrel with Neoptolemus is said to have taken it's rise as follows: It had been a custom for the kings of Epirus to hold an assembly at Passaron, a place in the province of the Molossians; where, after sacrificing to Jupiter 'the Warrior,' mutual oaths were taken by them and their subjects: by the kings, "to govern according to law;" and by the people, "to defend the crown according to law." Upon this occasion, both the kings met attended by their friends, and after the ceremony great presents were made on all sides. Among the rest Gelon, who was most cordially attached to Neoptolemus, paid his respects to Pyrrhus, and made him a present of two yoke of oxen[13].

[13] This present of an animal, so highly valued for it's agricultural uses, was characteristical of the simplicity of ancient times.

Myrtilus, one of this prince's cupbearers, begged them of him; but Pyrrhus refused him, and gave them to another. Gelon perceiving that Myrtilus took the disappointment extremely ill, invited him to sup with him. After supper (and, as some say, other drunken familiarities) he solicited him to embrace the interest of Neoptolemus, and to poison Pyrrhus. Myrtilus seemed to listen to his suggestions with satisfaction; but he discovered the whole to his master. He then, by Pyrrhus' order, introduced to Gelon the chief cupbearer Alexicrates, as a person who wished to participate in the conspiracy; for Pyrrhus was anxious to have more than one witness to so black an enterprise. Gelon being thus deceived, Neoptolemus was deceived along with him; and thinking the affair in great forwardness, could not contain himself, but in the excess of his joy mentioned it to his friends. One evening in particular, being at supper with his sister Cadmia, he discovered the whole design, thinking no body else within hearing. And indeed there was no person in the room but Phænarete, the wife of Samon chief keeper of Neoptolemus' cattle; and she lay upon a couch with her face turned toward the wall, and seemed to be asleep. She heard the whole however without being suspected, and going the next day to Antigone, Pyrrhus' wife, related to her all that Neoptolemus had told his sister. This was immediately laid before Pyrrhus, who for the present took no notice of it. But upon occasion of a solemn sacrifice he invited Neoptolemus to supper, and seized that opportunity to kill him. For he was well assured, that all the leading men in Epirus were strongly attached to him, and wished him to remove Neoptolemus out of the way; in order that, no longer satisfied with a small share of the kingdom, he might possess himself of the whole, and by following his genius rise to lofty attempts. And as they had now a strong suspicion besides, that Neoptolemus was

practising against him, they thought this the very time to prevent him by giving him the fatal blow.

In acknowledgement of the obligations which he had to Berenice and Ptolemy, he named his son by Antigone Ptolemy; and called the city, which he built in the Chersonese of Epirus, Berenicis. From this time he began to conceive many great designs, but his first hopes comprehended all that was near home; and he soon found a plausible pretence to concern himself in the affairs of Macedon. Antipater, the eldest son of Cassander, had killed his mother Thessalonica, and expelled his brother Alexander. Alexander sent to Demetrius for succour, and implored likewise the assistance of Pyrrhus. Demetrius, having many affairs upon his hands, could not immediately comply; but Pyrrhus came and demanded, as the reward of his services, the city of Nymphæa[14] and all the maritime coast of Macedon, together with Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia, which were some of the countries not originally belonging to that kingdom. The young prince agreeing to the conditions, Pyrrhus took possession of these countries, and secured them with his garrisons; after which he went on conquering the rest for Alexander, and driving Antipater before him.

King Lysimachus was well inclined to give Antipater assistance, but he was so much engaged with his own affairs, that he could not find time for it. Recollecting however that Pyrrhus would refuse nothing to his friend Ptolemy, he forged letters in Ptolemy's name, injoining him to evacuate

[14] Dacier thinks Apollonia might be called 'Nymphæa' from Nymphæum, a celebrated rock in it's neighbourhood so well described in the subsequent Life of Sylla. See also Dion. Cass. xii. 45, and Strabo, vii. Palmerius would read 'Tymphæa,' that being the name of a town in those parts. There was a town called 'Nymphæum' in the Tauric Chersonese, but that could not be meant in this place. (L.)

Ambracia, Acarnania, and Amphilochia were provinces of Epirus.*

Macedon, and to be satisfied with three hundred talents from Antipater. But Pyrrhus no sooner opened the letters, than he perceived the forgery. For instead of the customary salutation, "The father to his son, greeting," they began with, "King Ptolemy to king Pyrrhus, greeting." Upon this he inveighed against Lysimachus for the fraud, but listened notwithstanding to proposals of peace; and the three princes met to offer sacrifices on the occasion, and to swear upon the altar to the articles. A boar, a bull, and a ram being led up as victims, the ram dropped down dead. The rest of the company laughed at the accident; but Theodotus the soothsayer advised Pyrrhus not to swear, declaring that the Deity presignified the death of one of the kings; upon which he refused to ratify the peace [15].

Alexander's affairs were thus advantageously settled: nevertheless, Demetrius came; but it soon appeared that he now came unrequested, and that his presence excited rather fear than gratitude. When they had spent a few days together in mutual distrust, they laid snares for each other; but Demetrius finding the first opportunity, was beforehand with Alexander, killed him, and got himself proclaimed king of Macedon.

He had for a long time had subjects of complaint against Pyrrhus, on account of the inroads which that prince had made into Thessaly. Besides, the ambition to extend their dominions, which is a distemper natural to kings, rendered their neighbourhood mutually alarming. These jealousies increased after the death of Deidamia. At last each having possessed himself of part of Macedon, and having the same object in view (the gaining of the whole), this produced of course new causes of contention. Demetrius marched against the Ætolians, and reduced them. After which,

15 Alexander, as it appears below, was murthered soon afterward; the oracle most probably, as was usually the case, suggesting and inspiring it's own accomplishment.*

he left Pantauchus among them with a considerable force, and went himself to see Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, as soon as he was apprised of his design, set off to meet him; but taking a wrong route, they inadvertently passed each other. Demetrius entered Epirus, and committed great ravages; and Pyrrhus, falling in with Pantauchus, gave him battle. The dispute was warm and obstinate on both sides, especially where the generals fought. For Pantauchus, who in dexterity, courage, and strength stood foremost among Demetrius' officers, and was besides a man of a high and ambitious spirit, challenged Pyrrhus to the combat. And Pyrrhus, who was behind none of the princes of his time in valour and renown, and who was desirous to appropriate to himself the honours of Achilles rather by his sword than by kindred, advanced through the first lines against Pantauchus. They began with the javelin; and, then coming to the sword, exhausted all that art or strength could supply. Pyrrhus received one wound, and gave his adversary two, one in the thigh and the other in the neck, by which he overpowered him and brought him to the ground; but he could not kill him, because he was rescued by his friends. The Epirots, elated with their prince's victory and admiring his valour, broke and dispersed the Macedonian phalanx, and pursuing the fugitives slew immense numbers of them, and took five thousand prisoners.

This battle did not so much excite the resentment and hatred of the Macedonians against Pyrrhus for what they suffered, as it inspired them with an esteem of his abilities and admiration of his valour, and furnished a subject of discourse to all who were witnesses of his exploits, or were engaged against him in the action. For he recalled to their minds the countenance, the swiftness, and the motion of Alexander the Great; in Pyrrhus, they thought they saw the very image of his force and his impetuosity. And while the other kings represented that hero only in their purple robes, the number of their guards, the

bend of the neck [16], and the lofty manner of speaking, the king of Epirus represented him in deeds of arms and personal achievements. And of his eminent skill, in ordering and drawing up an army, we have proofs in the writings which he left behind him. It is also said that Antigonus, being asked, "Who was the "greatest general?" answered, "Pyrrhus would be "so, if he lived to be old." Antigonus, indeed, spoke only of the generals of his time: but Annibal said that of all who had ever existed, the first in genius and skill was Pyrrhus, the second Scipio, and he himself the third; as we have stated in the Life of Scipio [17]. This was the only science, to which he applied himself, the subject of all his thoughts and conversation: for he considered it as a royal study, and looked upon other arts as mere trifling amusements. And it is reported that, when he was asked, "Whether he thought Python or Caphisias the best "musician?" "Polysperchon [18]," said he, "is the "general;" intimating that this was the only point, which it became a king to examine or to understand.

In the intercourse of life he was mild, and not easily provoked, but ardent and quick to repay a kindness. For this reason, he was deeply afflicted at the death of Æropus: "His friend," he said, "had "only paid the tribute to nature; but he blamed and "reproached himself for having put off his acknow-"ledgments, till by these delays he had lost the op-"portunity of making any return. For those, who "owe money, can pay it to the heirs of the deceased; "but, when a return of kindnesses is not made to a "person in his life-time, it grieves the heart that has

[16] Which was the courtly carriage of the times, during Alexander's reign. So Alcibiades' friends imitated that great man in his defective articulation! *

[17] This is differently related in the Life of Flaminius, p. 59 of this vol., which is most probably referred to in this place. There it is said that Annibal placed Alexander first, Pyrrhus second, and himself third. Plutarch was probably, in one or both cases, obliged to quote from memory.

[18] One of Alexander's chief captains.*

"in it any goodness and honour." When some advised him to banish a certain ill-tongued Ambracian, who abused him behind his back; "Let the fellow stay "here," said he, "and speak against me to a few, "rather than ramble about, and give me a bad cha-"racter to the whole world." And some young men having taken considerable liberties with his character in their cups, and being subsequently brought before him to answer for it, he demanded of them, "Whether they had really said such things?" "We "did indeed, sir," answered one of them, "and "should have said a great deal more, if we had had "more wine." Upon which he laughed, and dismissed them.

After the death of Antigone, he married several wives for the purposes of interest and power; namely, the daughter of Autoleon king of the Pæonians[19], Bircenna the daughter of Bardyllis king of the Illyrians, and Lanassa the daughter of Agathocles of Syracuse, who brought him in dowry the isle of Corcyra which her father had taken. By Antigone he had a son named Ptolemy, by Lanassa Alexander, and by Bircenna his youngest son Helenus. All these princes had naturally a turn for war, and he quickened their martial ardour by giving them a suitable education from their infancy. For it is said, when he was asked by one of them, at that time a child, "To which of "them he would leave his kingdom?" he replied, "To him, who has the sharpest sword." This was very like Œdipus' tragical legacy to his sons,

The sword's keen point th' inheritance shall part[20].

After the battle Pyrrhus returned home distinguished with glory, and still more elevated in his sentiments. The Epirots having given him on this occasion the name of 'Eagle,' he said, "If I am "an eagle, you have made me one; for it is upon

[19] A people of Macedon.* [20] Eurip. Phœn. 66.

"your arms, as upon wings, that I have risen so "high."

Soon afterward, having received intelligence that Demetrius lay dangerously ill, he suddenly entered Macedon [21], intending only an inroad to pillage the country. But he was very near seizing the whole, and taking the kingdom without a blow. For he pushed forward as far as Edessa, without meeting any resistance: on the contrary, many of the inhabitants repaired to his camp, and joined him. The danger awakened Demetrius, and made him act above his strength. His friends likewise and officers quickly assembled a large body of troops, and advanced against Pyrrhus with much spirit and vigour. But, as he had come only with a design to plunder, he did not wait to receive them. He lost however a considerable number of men in his retreat, for the Macedonians harassed his rear the whole way.

Demetrius, though he had driven out Pyrrhus with so much ease, was far from slighting and despising him afterward. But as he meditated great things, and had determined to attempt the recovery of his paternal kingdom [22] with an army of an hundred thousand men and five hundred sail of ships, he thought it not prudent either to embroil himself with Pyrrhus, or to leave behind him so dangerous a neighbour. And as he was not at leisure to continue the war, he concluded a peace with him, that he might turn his arms with more secutity against the other kings [23]. His designs were soon discovered by this peace, and by the magnitude of his preparations. The kings were alarmed, and sent embassadors to Pyrrhus with letters, expressing their astonishment that he should neglect this opportunity of making war upon Demetrius. They represented with how much ease he might drive him out of Macedon, engaged as he was in many troublesome enterprises; instead of which he waited till

[21] B. C. 284. [22] Of Asia.

[23] Seleucus of Asia, Ptolemy of Egypt, and Lysimachus of Thrace.

Demetrius had despatched all his other affairs, and was grown so much more powerful as to be able to bring the war to his own doors, and to put him under the necessity of fighting for the altars of his gods and the sepulchres of his ancestors in Molossia itself; and this too, when he had just been deprived by Demetrius of the isle of Corcyra together with his wife. For Lanassa having lodged her complaints against Pyrrhus, as paying more attention to his other wives (though barbarians) than to herself, had retired to Corcyra; and wishing to marry another king, invited Demetrius to receive her hand, knowing him to be more inclined to marriage than any of the neighbouring princes. Accordingly he sailed to the island, married Lanassa, and left a garrison in the city.

The kings, at the same time that they wrote these letters to Pyrrhus, took the field themselves to harass Demetrius, who delayed his expedition and continued his preparations. Ptolemy put to sea with a large fleet, and drew off many of the Grecian cities. Lysimachus entered the Upper Macedon from Thrace, and ravaged the country. And Pyrrhus taking up arms at the same time marched against Berœa, expecting (as it actually fell out) that Demetrius would go to meet Lysimachus, and leave the Lower Macedon unguarded. The night before he set out, he dreamed that Alexander the Great called him; and that when he came to him, he found him sick in bed, but was received with many obliging expressions of friendship and a promise of sudden assistance. Pyrrhus said, "How can you, sir, who are so sick, be able to assist "me?" Alexander answered, "I will do it with my "name;" and at the same time mounted a Nisæan horse [24], and seemed to lead the way.

[24] Nisæa was a province near the Caspian sea, celebrated (as Strabo, xi. informs us) for it's breed of horses. (L.) One of it's meadows, upon which upward of fifty thousand mares were generally feeding, was very properly called 'Hippobotos.' The kings of Persia used to furnish their stud from that place. It's character flourishes to this day. Louis XV., say the modern editors of Amyot, requested a supply of them from Thamas Khouli-Kan.*

Pyrrhus, highly encouraged by this vision, advanced with the utmost expedition; and having traversed the intermediate countries, came before Berœa, and took it. There he fixed his head-quarters, and reduced the other cities by his generals. When Demetrius received intelligence of this, and perceived moreover a spirit of mutiny among the Macedonians in his camp, he was afraid to proceed farther; lest when they came in sight of a Macedonian prince[25], and one of an illustrious character too, they should go over to him. He therefore turned back, and led them against Pyrrhus, who was a stranger, and the object of their hatred. Upon his encamping near Berœa, many inhabitants of that place mixed with his soldiers, and highly extolled Pyrrhus. They represented him as a man invincible in arms, of uncommon magnanimity, and one who treated those that fell into his hands with the utmost gentleness and humanity. There were also some of Pyrrhus' emissaries, who pretending to be Macedonians observed to Demetrius' men, that then was the time to get free from his cruel yoke, and to embrace the interests of Pyrrhus, who was a popular man and who loved a soldier. After this, the chief part of the army was in a ferment, and they cast their eyes around for Pyrrhus. It happened, that he was at that moment without his helmet; but recollecting himself, he quickly put it on, and was immediately known by his lofty plume and his crest of goat's horns[26]. Many of the Macedonians now ran to him, and begged him to give them the word; while others crowned themselves with branches of oak, because they saw them worn by those about him. Some had even the confidence to tell Demetrius, that his most prudent measure would be to withdraw, and lay down the government. As

[25] Lysimachus.

[26] Alexander the Great is represented on his medals with such a crest. The goat, indeed, was the symbol of the kingdom of Macedon. The prophet Daniel (viii. 5, &c.) uses it as such. The original of that symbol may be found in Justin.

he found the motions of the army agreeable to this kind of discourse, he was terrified and went off privately, disguised in a mean cloke and a common Macedonian hat. Thus Pyrrhus became master of the camp without striking a blow, and was proclaimed king of Macedon.

Soon afterward Lysimachus made his appearance, and, pretending that he had contributed equally to Demetrius' flight, demanded his share of the kingdom. Pyrrhus, as he thought himself not sufficiently established among the Macedonians, but rather in a dubious situation, accepted the proposal; and they divided the cities and provinces between them. This partition seemed to be of service for the present, and prevented their going directly to war; but, instead of a perfect reconciliation, they quickly found it to be the beginning of perpetual complaints and quarrels. For how is it possible that they, whose ambition is not to be terminated by seas and mountains and uninhabitable deserts, whose thirst of dominion is not to be confined by the bounds which separate Europe and Asia, should, when so near each other and joined in one lot, sit down contented and abstain from mutual injuries? Undoubtedly they are always at war, having the seeds of perfidy and envy virtually in their hearts. As for the two terms of 'Peace' and 'War,' they apply them occasionally like money to their use, not to the purposes of justice. And they act with much more probity when they professedly make war, than when they sanctify a short truce and cessation of mutual injuries by the names of justice and friendship. Of this, Pyrrhus was a complete proof. For opposing Demetrius again when his affairs began to be a little re-established, and checking his power, which seemed to be recovering as it were from a grievous illness, he marched to the assistance of the Grecians, and went in person to Athens. There he ascended to the citadel, and sacrificed to the goddess; after which he came down into the city the same day, and thus addressed the people: "I think myself happy in this

"testimony of the kind regard of the Athenians, and "of the confidence which they have placed in me; I "advise them however, as they tender their safety, "never to open their gates again to admit another "king within their walls[27]."

Soon after this, he concluded a peace with Demetrius: and yet Demetrius was no sooner passed into Asia, than Pyrrhus at the instigation of Lysimachus drew off Thessaly from it's allegiance, and attacked his garrisons in Greece. He found indeed the Macedonians better subjects in time of war than in peace, and was moreover himself more fit for action than repose. At last Demetrius being entirely defeated in Syria, Lysimachus, who had nothing to fear from that quarter nor any other affairs to engage him, immediately turned his forces against Pyrrhus, who lay in quarters at Edessa. On his arrival he fell upon one of the king's convoys and took it, by which he sorely distressed his troops for want of provisions. Beside this he corrupted the principal Macedonians by his letters and emissaries, reproaching them for having chosen for their sovereign a stranger, whose ancestors had always been subject to the Macedonians, to the expulsion of the friends and companions of Alexander the Great. As the majority listened to these suggestions, Pyrrhus fearing the event withdrew with his Epirots and auxiliary forces, and thus lost Macedon in the same manner in which he had gained it. Kings, therefore, have no reason to blame the people for changing from motives of interest: since in this they do but imitate their masters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiousness, and account that man the most capable of serving them, who pays the least regard to honesty.

When Pyrrhus had retired into Epirus and left Macedon, he had a fair occasion given him by fortune to enjoy himself in quiet, and to govern his own

[27] The Athenians followed his advice, and drove out Demetrius' garrison.

lom in peace. But he was persuaded, that nei-
ther to annoy others, nor to be annoyed by them,
was a life insufferably languishing and nauseous. Like
Achilles, he could not endure inaction;

> He pined in dull repose, and his full heart
> Panted for war's loud din [28].

His anxiety for fresh employment was relieved as follows: The Romans were then at war with the Tarentines. The latter were not able to support the dispute, and yet the bold and turbulent harangues of their leading men would not suffer them to put an end to it. They resolved therefore to call in Pyrrhus, and put their forces under his command; there being no other prince of the time, who had so much leisure, or was so able a general. The oldest and most sensible of the citizens opposed this measure, but were overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude; and, when they saw this, they seceded from the assemblies. But there was a worthy man named Meton, who on the day upon which the decree was to be ratified, after the people had taken their seats, came into the assembly with an air of intoxication; having (like persons in that condition) a withered garland upon his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman playing on the flute before him. As no decorum can well be observed by a crowd of people in a free state, some clapped their hands, others laughed, but nobody pretended to stop him. On the contrary, they called upon the woman to play, and upon him to come forward and sing; and when he seemed ready to begin, silence being made, he said, "Men of Tarentum, ye do extremely well "to suffer those, who are so inclined, to play and "be merry while they may; and if ye be wise, ye will "all awhile longer enjoy the same liberty: for ye "must have other business, and another kind of life "and system, when Pyrrhus once enters your city."

[8] Il. ix. 491.

This address made a deep impression upon the Tarentines, and a whisper of assent ran through the assembly. But some fearing that they should be delivered up to the Romans, if peace were made, reproached the people with so tamely suffering themselves to be flouted and insulted by a drunkard; and then, turning upon Meton, thrust him out. The decree being thus confirmed, they sent embassadors to Epirus, not only in the name of the Tarentines but of the other Greeks in Italy, with presents to Pyrrhus and orders to tell him, "That they wanted a general "of ability and character. As for troops, he would "find a large supply of them upon the spot from the "Lucanians, the Messapians, the Samnites, and the "Tarentines, to the amount of twenty thousand horse "and three hundred and fifty thousand foot." These promises not only elevated Pyrrhus, but gave the Epirots a strong inclination for the war.

There was at that time at the court of Pyrrhus a Thessalian named Cineas, a man of sound sense, and who having been a disciple of Demosthenes was the only orator of his time, capable of presenting his hearers with a lively image of the force and spirit of that sublime master. This man had devoted himself to Pyrrhus, and in all the embassies upon which he was despatched confirmed the saying of Euripides[29],

—— what hostile steel effects,
Dread eloquence annuls.

This made Pyrrhus observe, "that Cineas had gained "him more cities by his address, than he had himself "won by his arms:" and he continued to heap upon him honours and employments. Cineas now perceiving Pyrrhus intent upon his preparations for Italy, took an opportunity, when he saw him at leisure, to draw him into the following conversation: "The "Romans have the reputation of being excellent sol-

[29] Phœn. 527.

diers, and have the command of many warlike nations: if it please Heaven that we conquer them, what use, sir, shall we make of our victory?" "Cineas," replied the king, "your question answers itself. "When the Romans are once subdued, there is no "town, Greek or barbarian, in the whole country "which will dare to oppose us: we shall immediately "become masters of all Italy, whose extent, power, "and importance no man knows better than your-"self." Cineas, after a short pause, continued; "But, "after we have conquered Italy, what shall we do "next, sire?" Pyrrhus, not yet perceiving his drift, replied, "Next Sicily, which is at no great distance, "stretches out her arms to receive us, a fruitful and "populous island, and easy to be taken. For Aga-"thocles was no sooner gone, than faction and anar-"chy began to prevail among her cities, and every "thing is kept in confusion by her turbulent dema-"gogues." "What you say, my prince," said Cineas, "is very probable: but is the taking of Sicily to con-"clude our expeditions?" "Far from it," answered Pyrrhus; "for, if Heaven grant us success in this, "that success shall only be the prelude to greater "achievements. Who can forbear Libya and Car-"thage, then within reach? of which Agathocles, even "when he fled in a clandestine manner from Syracuse, "and crossed the sea with only a few ships, had al-"most rendered himself master[30]. And when we "have made such conquests, who can pretend to say "that any of our enemies, now so insolent, will think "of resisting us?" "To be sure," said Cineas, "they "will not; for it is clear that so much power will "enable you to recover Macedon, and to establish "yourself uncontested sovereign of Greece. But, "when we have conquered all, what are we to do "then?" "Why then, my friend," said Pyrrhus laughing, "we will take our ease, spend whole days "in banqueting and agreeable conversation, and make

[30] See Diod. Sic. xx. 3—100; and Justin, xx. 5, &c.*

"one another merry." Cineas, having brought him thus far, replied, "And what hinders us from banqueting and taking our ease now; when we have already those things in our hands, which we propose to attain through seas of blood, through infinite toils and dangers, and through innumerable calamities which we must both inflict and suffer[31]?"

This discourse of Cineas gave Pyrrhus pain, but produced no reformation. He saw the certain happiness which he gave up, but he was not able to forego the hopes which flattered his desires. In the first place, therefore, he sent Cineas to Tarentum with three thousand foot; whence there arrived quickly afterward a large number of galleys, transports, and flat-bottomed boats; on board of these he embarked twenty elephants, three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, two thousand archers, and five hundred slingers. When all was ready, he set sail; but as soon as he had reached the midst of the Ionian sea, he was attacked by a violent north-wind which was unusual at that season. The storm raged terribly: by the skill however and the extraordinary efforts of his pilots and mariners, his ship, with infinite labour and beyond all expectation, made the land. The rest of the fleet could not hold their course, but were dispersed far and wide. Some of the ships were quite beaten off from the coast of Italy, and driven into the Lybian and Sicilian sea: others, not being able to double the cape of Iäpygia, were overtaken by the night, and a heavy and boisterous

[31] Dacier thinks Horace must have referred to this conversation and conclusion (Ep. I. xi. 28.)

Strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
Quadrigis petimus benè vivere. Quod petis, hic est:
Et Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

Of this spirited dialogue Boileau has given an admirable paraphrase in his first epistle:

Ce conseil étoit sage, et facile à gouter;
*Pyrrhus vivoit heureux, s'il eût pû l'écouter.**

swell driving them upon a difficult and rocky shore, they were all in the utmost distress. The king's ship indeed by it's size and strength resisted the force of the waves, while the wind blew from the sea: but that coming about and blowing directly off shore, as she stood with her head against it, she was in danger of opening by the shocks which she received. And yet to be driven off again into a tempestuous ocean, while the wind continually shifted from point to point, seemed the most dreadful case of all. In this extremity Pyrrhus threw himself overboard, and was immediately followed by his friends and guards, all anxiously striving which should give him the best assistance. But the darkness, and the dreadful height of a raging surf, rendered it extremely difficult to save him. At last, by day-break the wind being considerably fallen, with much trouble he got ashore greatly weakened in body, but with a strength and firmness of mind which bravely combated the distress. At the same time the Messapians, upon whose coast he was cast, ran down to give them all the succour in their power. They also met with some other of his vessels which had weathered the storm, having on board a small number of horse, not quite two thousand foot, and two elephants. With these Pyrrhus marched to Tarentum.

When Cineas was informed of this, he drew out his forces and marched to meet him. Pyrrhus, upon his arrival at Tarentum, did not choose to have recourse to compulsion at first, nor to do any thing against the inclination of the inhabitants; till his ships were safe arrived, and the chief part of his forces collected. Then however observing the Tarentines so far from being in a condition to defend others, that they would not even defend themselves, except they were driven to it by necessity; and that they sat still at home, or spent their time about the baths, or in idle parties, as expecting that he would fight for them; he shut up the places of ex-

ercise and the walks, where they used to saunter along, and conduct the war with words. He also put a stop to their unseasonable entertainments, revels, and diversions. Instead of these, he called them to arms, and in his musters and reviews was extremely severe and inexorable, so that many of them quitted the place; for being unaccustomed to be under command, they called that a slavery, which was not a life of pleasure.

He now received intelligence, that Lævinus the Roman consul was advancing against him with an immense army, and ravaging Lucania by the way. And though the confederates were not come up, yet looking upon it as a disgrace to sit still and see the enemy approach still nearer, he took the field with the troops about him. But first he sent a herald to the Romans with proposals, before they came to extremities, to terminate their differences amicably with the Greeks in Italy, by taking him for the mediator and umpire. Lævinus answered, "That the Romans "neither accepted Pyrrhus as a mediator, nor feared "him as an enemy." Upon which he marched forward, and encamped in the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea: and having notice that the Romans were at hand and lay on the other side of the river Sirus [32], he rode up to the river to take a view of them. When he saw the order of their troops, the appointment of their watches, and the regularity of their whole encampment, he was struck with admiration, and said to a friend who was near him; "Megacles, the disposition of these barba-"rians has nothing of the barbarian in it: we shall "see, whether or not their actions are corre-"spondent." He now became anxious about the event, and determining to wait for the allies, set a guard upon the river to oppose the Romans, if they should endeavour to pass it. The Romans on their part, solicitous to prevent the coming up of those

[32] *Hod.* the Sanno, which falls into the Gulf of Tarentum.*

forces which he had resolved to wait for, attempted the passage. The infantry took to the fords, and the cavalry got over wherever they could; so that the Greeks were afraid of being surrounded, and retreated to their main body.

Pyrrhus, deeply concerned at this, ordered his foot-officers to draw up the forces and to stand to their arms; while he advanced with the horse, who were about three thousand, in hopes of finding the Romans yet busied in the passage and dispersed without any order. But when he saw an immense number of shields glittering above the water, and the horse preserving their ranks as they passed, he closed his own ranks and began the attack. Besides his being distinguished by the beauty and lustre of his arms, which were of very curious fabric, he performed acts of valour not unworthy the high reputation which he had acquired. For though he exposed his person in the hottest of the engagement, and charged with the utmost vigour, he was never in the least disturbed, or lost his presence of mind; but gave his orders as coolly as if he had been out of the action, and moved to this side or that as occasion required, to support his men wherever he saw them maintaining an unequal fight.

A Macedonian named Leonatus, observed an Italian horseman very intent upon Pyrrhus, changing his post as he did, and regulating all his motions of every kind by those of the king. Upon which he rode up, and said to him; "Do you see, sir, that "barbarian upon the black horse with white feet? "He seems to me to meditate some great and dreadful design. Full of fire and spirit, he keeps you in his eye, singles you out, and takes no notice of any body else: be on your guard therefore against him." Pyrrhus answered; "It is impossible, Leonatus, to avoid our destiny. But neither this, nor any "other Italian, shall have much satisfaction in en-"gaging with me." While they were yet speaking, the Italian levelled his spear, and spurred his horse

against Pyrrhus. He missed the king indeed, but he ran his horse through, as Leonatus did that of the Italian at the same moment, so that both horses fell together. The friends of Pyrrhus gathering around him carried him off, and killed the Italian, who fought to the very last. This brave man had the command of a troop of horse; Ferentum was the place of his birth, and his name was Oplacus.

This made Pyrrhus more cautious. And now seeing his cavalry give ground, he sent his infantry orders to advance, and formed them as soon as they came up. Then giving his robe and arms to Megacles one of his friends, he disguised himself in his, and proceeded to the charge. The Romans received him with much firmness, and the success of the battle remained long undecided. It is even said, that each army was broken and gave way seven times, and as often rallied again. He changed his arms very seasonably, for it saved his life; but at the same time it had nearly ruined his affairs, and lost him the victory. Many aimed at Megacles; but the person, who first wounded him and brought him to the ground, was named Dexöus. This man seizing his helmet and his robe, rode up to Lævinus, showing the spoils, and crying out that he had slain Pyrrhus. The spoils being passed from rank to rank as it were in triumph, the Roman army shouted for joy, while that of the Greeks was struck with grief and consternation. This continued till Pyrrhus, apprised of what had happened, rode about the army uncovered, stretching out his hand to his soldiers, and enabling them to know him by his voice. At last the Romans were worsted, chiefly by means of the elephants. For the horses, before they came near them, were frightened and ran back with their riders; and Pyrrhus commanding his Thessalian cavalry to fall upon them, while in this disorder, they were routed with great slaughter. Dionysius affirms, that nearly fifteen thousand Romans fell in this battle; but Hieronymus makes the number only

seven. On Pyrrhus' side, Dionysius says, there were thirteen thousand killed; Hieronymus, not quite four. Among these however were the most valuable of his friends and officers, of whose services he had made considerable use, and in whom he had placed the highest confidence.

Pyrrhus immediately entered the Roman camp, which he found deserted. He gained over many cities, which had been in alliance with Rome, and laid waste the territories of others. Nay, he advanced to within thirty-seven miles of Rome itself. The Lucanians and the Samnites joined him after the battle, and were reproved for their delay; but it was plain, that he was greatly elevated and delighted with having, by the single assistance of the Tarentines, defeated so powerful an army of the Romans.

The Romans, upon this occasion, did not take the command from Lævinus (though Caius Fabricius is reported to have said, "That the Romans were not "overcome by the Epirots, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus:" intimating, that the defeat was owing to the inferiority of the general, not to that of his troops); but raising new levies, filling up their legions, and talking in a lofty and menacing tone about the war, they struck Pyrrhus with amazement. He thought proper therefore to send an embassy to them first, to try whether they were disposed to peace; being satisfied that to take the city, and make an absolute conquest, was an undertaking of too much difficulty to be effected by such an army as his then was: whereas if he could bring them to terms of accommodation, and conclude a peace with them, it would be extremely glorious for him after such a victory.

Cineas, who was despatched with this commission, applied to the chief men, and sent them [33] and their

[33] For πασιν some critics would read παισιν, 'their children,' and not, as M. Ricard observes, without some plausibility; as this (he suggests) would be an infallible way of winning the ladies, and through them their husbands.*

wives presents in his master's name. But they all refused them; the women as well as the men declaring, "That when Rome had publicly ratified a "treaty with the king, they should then on their "parts be ready to show him every mark of their "friendship and respect." And though Cineas made a very engaging speech to the senate, and used many arguments to induce them to close with him, yet they lent not a willing ear to his propositions; notwithstanding that Pyrrhus offered to restore without ransom the prisoners whom he had taken in the battle, and promised to assist them in the conquest of Italy, desiring nothing in return but their friendship for himself and security for the Tarentines. Some indeed seemed inclined to peace, urging that they had already lost a great battle, and had a still greater to expect, since Pyrrhus was joined by several nations in Italy. There was at that time an illustrious Roman, Appius Claudius [34] by name, who on account of his advanced age and the loss of his sight had renounced and discontinued all attendance upon public business. When he heard however of the embassy from Pyrrhus, and the report prevailed that the senate was going to vote for the peace, he could not contain himself, but ordered his servants to take him up, and carry him in his chair through the Forum to the senate-house. Upon his arrival at the door, his sons and sons-in-law received him, and led him into the senate. A respectful silence was observed by the whole body on his appearance, and he delivered his sentiments in the following terms: "Hitherto I have regarded my blind-"ness as a misfortune; but now, Romans, I wish I "had been as deaf as I am blind. For then I should "not have heard of your shameful counsels and de-

[34] This Appius made and gave name to the Via Appia, and to an aqueduct which conveyed water from the Anio to Rome. See Liv. ix. 29. Diod. Sic. xx. 36. says, that he counterfeited blindness in order to elude the hostility of the senate, whom he had offended in his censorship.*

"crees, so ruinous to your country's renown. "Where are all your speeches so much echoed about "the world, that if Alexander the Great had come "into Italy, when we were young and your fathers "in the vigour of their age, he would not now be ce- "lebrated as invincible, but either by his flight or his "fall would have added to the glory of Rome? You "now show the vanity and folly of that boast, while "you dread the Chaonians and Molossians, who were "constantly a prey to the Macedonians; and "tremble at the name of Pyrrhus, who has all his "life been paying his court to one of that Alex- "ander's guards. At present he wanders about "Italy, not so much to succour the Greeks here, "as to avoid his enemies at home; and promises to "procure for us the empire of this country with "forces, which could not enable him to retain a "small part of Macedon. Do not expect then to "get rid of him, by entering into alliance with him. "That step will only open a door to many invaders. "For who is there that will not despise you, and "think you an easy conquest, if Pyrrhus not "only escapes unpunished for his insolence, but "gains the Tarentines and Samnites as a reward for "having insulted the Romans."

Appius had no sooner done speaking, than they voted unanimously for the war, and dismissed Cineas with this answer: "That when Pyrrhus had quitted Italy, "they would conclude a treaty of friendship and "alliance with him, if he desired it; but while he "continued there in a hostile manner, though he "should defeat a thousand Lævinuses in succession, "they would prosecute the war against him with "their whole force."

It is said that Cineas, while he was upon this business, took considerable pains to observe the manners of the Romans, and to examine into the nature of their government. And, when he had gained the desired information by conversing with their great

men, he made a faithful report of all to Pyrrhus; and told him, among the rest, "That the senate appeared "to him an assembly of kings; and as to the people, "they were so numerous, that he was afraid he had "to do with another hydra of Lerna. For the con-"sul had already an army on foot twice as large as "the former, and had left multitudes behind in "Rome of a proper age for enlisting, and sufficient "to form many similar armies."

After this, Fabricius came embassador to Pyrrhus, to treat about the ransom and exchange of prisoners. This Roman, as Cineas informed Pyrrhus, was highly valued by his countrymen for his probity and his martial abilities, but he was extremely poor. Pyrrhus received him with particular distinction, and privately offered him gold; not for any base purpose, but as a pledge of friendship and hospitality. Fabricius refusing the present, Pyrrhus pressed him no farther: but the next day, wishing to surprise him, and knowing that he had never seen an elephant, he ordered the biggest he had to be armed, and placed behind a curtain in the room where they were to hold their conference. This was accordingly done, and upon a sign given the curtain was undrawn; upon which the elephant, raising his trunk over Fabricius' head, made a horrid and frightful noise. Fabricius turned round, without the least discomposure, and said to Pyrrhus, smiling; "Neither your "gold yesterday, nor your beast to-day, has made "any impression upon me."

In the evening, the conversation at table turned upon many subjects, but chiefly upon Greece and the Grecian philosophers. This led Cineas to mention Epicurus [25], and to give some account of the opinions of his sect upon the gods and civil govern-

[25] Epicurus was then living. The doctrines of that philosopher were greatly in vogue at Rome, just before the ruin of the commonwealth (L.) They had previously, as M. Montesquieu observes, corrupted and consequently ruined Greece. (Grand. et Decad. des Rom. x.)*

ment. "They placed the chief happiness of man "in pleasure," he said; "avoided all interference "in public affairs, as the bane of a happy life; and "attributed to the Deity neither benevolence nor "anger, but maintained that, far removed from the "care of human concerns, he passed his time in "total inactivity, and was completely immersed in "pleasure." While he was yet speaking, Fabricius cried out, "O heavens! may Pyrrhus and the Sam-"nites continue to maintain these opinions, as long "as they are at war with the Romans!" Pyrrhus, admiring the noble sentiments and principles of Fabricius, was more desirous than ever of establishing a friendship with Rome, instead of continuing the war. And taking Fabricius aside, he pressed him to mediate a peace, and then go and settle at his court, where he should be the first of all his generals and friends. Fabricius replied in a low voice; "That, sir, would be no advantage to you: for "those who now honour and admire you, should "they once have experience of me, would rather "choose to be governed by me than by you." Such was the character of Fabricius.

Pyrrhus, far from being offended at this answer, or taking it like a tyrant, made his friends acquainted with Fabricius' magnanimity, and entrusted the prisoners to him; with this sole condition, that if the senate did not agree to a peace, they should be sent back, after they had embraced their relations and celebrated the Saturnalia.

After this, Fabricius being consul[36], an unknown person came to his camp with a letter from the king's physician, who offered to take off Pyrrhus by poison, and so put an end to the war without any farther hazard to the Romans, on condition of receiving a proper compensation for his services. Fabricius detested the fellow's villainy; and, having brought his collegue into the same sentiments, in-

[36] B. C. 277.

stantly sent despatches to Pyrrhus to caution him against the treason. The letter ran thus:

"Caius Fabricius and Quintus Æmilius, consuls, to king Pyrrhus, health.

"It appears that you judge very ill both of your friends and of your enemies. For you will find by this letter, which was sent to us, that you are at war with men of virtue and honour, and repose confidence in knaves and villains. Neither is it out of kindness, that we give you this information; but we do it lest your death should bring a disgrace upon us, and we should seem to have put a period to the war by treachery, when we could not do it by valour."

Pyrrhus, having read the letter and detected the treason, punished the physician; and to show his gratitude to Fabricius and the Romans, delivered up the prisoners without ransom, and sent Cineas a second time to negociate a peace. The Romans, unwilling to receive a favour from an enemy, or a reward for not having concurred in a flagitious proposal, received indeed the prisoners at his hands, but sent him an equal number of Tarentines and Samnites in return. As to peace and friendship, they would not hear any proposals about it, till Pyrrhus should have laid down his arms, withdrawn his forces from Italy, and returned to Epirus in the same ships in which he came.

His affairs now requiring another battle, he assembled his army, and marched and attacked the Romans near Asculum. The ground was very rough and uneven, and marshy also toward the river: so that it was extremely inconvenient for the cavalry, and quite prevented the elephants from acting with the infantry. For this reason he had a considerable number of men killed and wounded, and might have been entirely defeated, had not night put an end to the battle. Next day, contriving by an act of generalship to engage upon even ground, where his elephants might be able to act against the enemy, he

seized in time the difficult post where they had fought the day before. He then planted a number of archers and slingers among his elephants, thickened his other ranks, and moved forward in good order, though with great force and impetuosity, against the Romans.

The Romans, who had not now the advantage of ground for attacking and retreating as they pleased, were obliged to fight upon the plain, man to man. They hastened to break the enemy's infantry, before the elephants came up, and made prodigious efforts with their swords against the pikes; not regarding themselves, or the wounds which they received, but only looking where they might strike and slay. After a long dispute, however, the Romans were forced to give way, which they did first where Pyrrhus fought in person, for they could not resist the fury of his attack. It was the force and the weight of the elephants, indeed, which put them wholly to the rout. The Roman valour being of no use against those fierce creatures, the troops thought it wiser to give way, as to an overwhelming torrent or an earthquake, than to fall in a fruitless opposition when they could gain no advantage, though they suffered the greatest extremities. And they had not far to fly, before they gained their camp. Hieronymus says, the Romans lost six thousand men in the action; and Pyrrhus, according to the account in his own Commentaries, lost three thousand five hundred. Dionysius however does not tell us, that there were two battles at Asculum, nor that the Romans were decisively defeated; but that the action lasted till sun-set, and that then the combatants reluctantly separated, Pyrrhus being wounded in the arm with a javelin, and the Samnites having plundered his baggage; and that the number of the slain, computing the loss on both sides, amounted to above fifteen thousand men. When they had all quitted the field, and Pyrrhus was congratulated upon the victory, he said, "Such another victory, and we are undone!" For he

had lost the chief part of the forces which he brought with him, and all his friends and officers, except a very small number. He had no others to send for to supply their place, and he found his Italian confederates completely spiritless. Whereas the Romans filled up their legions with ease and despatch, from an inexhaustible fountain which they had at home; and their defeats were so far from discouraging them, that indignation gave them fresh strength and indignant ardour for the war[37].

Amidst these difficulties new hopes, vain as the former, offered themselves to Pyrrhus, and enterprises which distracted him in the choice. On one side, embassadors came from Sicily, proposing to put Syracuse, Agrigentum, and the city of the Leontines in his hands, and entreating him to drive the Carthaginians out of the island and free it from tyrants: on the other, intelligence was brought him from Greece, that Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain in battle by the Gauls, and that this would be a seasonable juncture for him to offer himself to the Macedonians who were in want of a king[38]. Upon this occasion he complained greatly of fortune, for having offered him two such glorious opportunities of action at once; and, afflicted to think that in embracing one he must necessarily give up the other, he was a long time perplexed and doubtful which to prefer. At last the expedition to Sicily appearing to him the more important, on account of it's nearness to Africa,

[37] A character very similar to that, which Horace (Od. IV. iv. 59.) puts into the mouth of Annibal, an enemy (whatever he himself might determine upon the subject) still more illustrious than Pyrrhus:

Per damna, per cædes, ab ipso
*Ducit opes animumque ferro.**

[38] Ptolemy Ceraunus was slain three years before, during the consulate of Lævinus. After him, the Macedonians had several kings (Meleager, Antipater, Sosthenes, and Antigonus) in quick succession. All therefore, that the letters could import, must be that the Macedonians would prefer Pyrrhus to Antigonus, who was then in possession. (See Justin. xxv. 5.)

he determined to go thither; and immediately despatched Cineas before him, according to custom, to treat with the cities in his behalf. He placed however a strong garrison in Tarentum, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the people; who insisted that he should either fulfil the purpose for which he came, by staying to assist them effectually in the Roman war, or if he would desert them, that he should leave their city as he found it. But he gave them a severe answer, ordered them to be quiet and wait his time, and so set sail.

When he arrived in Sicily, he found every thing disposed agreeably to his hopes. The cities readily put themselves into his hands: and, wherever force was necessary, nothing at first made any considerable resistance to his arms. But with thirty thousand foot, two thousand five hundred horse, and two hundred sail of ships, he advanced against the Carthaginians, chased them before him, and ruined their province. Eryx[39] was the strongest city in those parts, and the best provided with men for it's defence; yet he resolved to take it by storm. As soon as his army was in readiness to give the assault, he armed himself at all points; and advancing toward the walls, made a vow to Hercules of games and sacrifices in acknowledgement of the victory, if in that day's action he should distinguish himself before the Greeks in Sicily, in a manner becoming his high descent and his fortunes. He then ordered the signal to be given by sound of trumpet; and having driven the barbarians from the walls with his missive weapons, planted the scaling-ladders, and was himself the first to ascend.

He was there attacked by a crowd of enemies, some of whom he drove back, others he pushed down from the wall on both sides; but the chief part he slew with his sword, so that there was quite a ram-

[39] *Mod.* San Giuliano. It is seated upon a promontory of the same name on the western side of Sicily, had a temple dedicated to Venus, and is supposed to have been founded by Æneas.*

part of dead bodies around him. In the mean time, he himself received not the least harm; but appeared to his enemies in so awful a character, as to evince that Homer spoke with judgement and knowledge, when he represented valour as the only virtue which discovers an enthusiastic energy, and raises a man above himself. When the city was taken, he offered a magnificent sacrifice to Hercules, and exhibited a variety of shows and games.

Of all the barbarians, those about Messina, who were called Mamertines, gave the Greeks the greatest trouble, and had subjected many of them to tribute. They were a numerous and warlike people, and thence had the appellation of Mamertines, which in the Latin tongue signifies 'martial[40].' But Pyrrhus seized the collectors of the tribute, and put them to death; and having defeated the Mamertines in a set battle, destroyed many of their strong holds.

Upon this, the Carthaginians were inclined to a pacification, and offered him both money and ships, on condition that he would grant them his friendship. But having farther prospects he made answer, that there was only one way to peace and amity, which was, for the Carthaginians to evacuate Sicily, and make the Lybian sea the boundary between them and the Greeks. Elated with prosperity and with his present strength, he thought of nothing but pursuing the hopes, which first drew him into Sicily.

His primary object was now Africa. He had vessels enow for his purpose, but he wanted mariners. And, in the levying of them, he was far from proceeding with lenity and moderation: on the contrary, he carried it to the cities with a high hand and with great rigour, seconding his orders for a supply with force, and chastising those who disobeyed them. This was not the conduct which he had at first observed; for he was then gracious and affable to an

[40] See Fest., and Polyb. i. 7.*

extreme, placed an entire confidence in the people, and avoided giving them the least uneasiness. By these means he had gained their hearts. But now turning from a popular prince into a tyrant, his austerity drew upon him the imputation both of ingratitude and perfidiousness. Necessity, however, obliged them to furnish him with what he demanded, though they were little disposed to it. But what chiefly alienated their affections, was his behaviour to Thænon and Sostratus, two persons of the chief authority in Syracuse. These were the men who had originally invited him into Sicily, who upon his arrival immediately put their city into his hands, and who had been the principal instruments of the great things which he had done in the island. Yet his suspicions would neither let him carry them along with him, nor leave them behind him. Sostratus took the alarm, and fled: upon which Thænon was seized by Pyrrhus, who alleged that he was an accomplice with Sostratus, and put him to death. After this his affairs ran to ruin, not gradually and by little and little, but all at once. And the violent hatred which the cities conceived for him, led some of them to join the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines. While he thus saw nothing around him but cabals, seditions, and insurrections, he received letters from the Samnites and the Tarentines; who being quite driven out of the field, and with difficulty defending themselves within their walls, implored his assistance. This afforded a handsome pretext for his departure, without it's being called a flight and an absolute giving up of his affairs in Sicily. But the truth was, that being unable to hold the island any longer, he quitted it, like a shattered ship, and threw himself again into Italy. It is reported that, as he sailed away, he looked back upon the isle, and said to those about him, "What a field do we leave "to the Carthaginians and the Romans, in which "to exercise their arms!" And his conjecture was quickly verified.

The barbarians rose against him as he set sail, and being attacked by the Carthaginians on his passage, he lost many of his ships: with the remainder, however, he gained the Italian shore. The Mamertines, to the number of ten thousand, had arrived there before him; and, though they were afraid to come to a pitched battle, yet they attacked and harassed him in the difficult passes, and threw his whole army into disorder. He lost two elephants, and a considerable part of his rear was cut in pieces. But he immediately pushed from the van to their assistance, and risked his person in the boldest manner against men trained by long practice to war, who fought with a spirit of resentment. In this dispute he received a wound in the head by a sword, which forced him to retire a little out of the battle, and still farther animated the enemy. One of them therefore, distinguished both by his size and his arms, advanced before the lines, and with a loud voice called upon him to come forth, if he was alive. Pyrrhus, incensed at this, returned with his guards; and with a visage so fierce with anger and so besmeared with blood, that it was dreadful to look upon, made his way through his battalions, notwithstanding their remonstrances. Then rushing upon the barbarian he prevented his blow, and gave him such a stroke on the head with his sword, that with the strength of his arm and the excellent temper of the weapon he cleft him quite down, and in one moment the parts fell asunder. This achievement stopped the course of the barbarians, who were struck with admiration and amazement at Pyrrhus, as at a superior being. He made the rest of his march therefore without disturbance, and arrived at Tarentum with twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Then taking with him the best troops that he found there, he immediately advanced against the Romans, who were encamped in the country of the Samnites.

The affairs of the Samnites were gone to ruin, and their spirits sunk, because they had been beaten in

several battles by the Romans. There remained also in their hearts some resentment against Pyrrhus, on account of his having left them to go to Sicily, so that few of them repaired to his standard. The forces that he had he divided into two bodies, one of which he detached into Lucania, to occupy the attention of one of the consuls[41], and prevent him from assisting his collegue; with the second he marched in person against the other consul Manius Curius, who lay safely entrenched near the city of Beneventum, and declined fighting as well in expectation of the succours from Lucania, as on account of his having been deterred from action by the augurs and soothsayers.

Pyrrhus, hastening to attack him before he could be joined by his collegue, took the choicest of his troops and the most warlike of his elephants, and pushed forward in the night to surprise his camp. But as he had a long circuit to take, and the roads were entangled with trees and bushes, his lights failed, and numbers of his men lost their way. Thus the night was wasted. At day-break he was discovered by the enemy descending from the heights, which caused no small disorder in their camp. Manius however, finding the sacrifices auspicious and the time pressing, issued out of his trenches, attacked the vanguard of the enemy, and put them to flight. This spread a consternation throughout their whole army, so that many of them were killed, and some of the elephants taken. On the other hand, the success led Manius to try a pitched battle. Engaging therefore in the open field, one of his wings defeated that of the enemy; but the other was borne down by the elephants, and driven back to the trenches. In this exigency he sent for the troops which had been left to guard the camp, all fresh men and well armed. These, as they descended from their advantageous situation, pierced the elephants

[41] Cornelius Lentulus.

with their javelins, and forced them to turn their backs; and those creatures, rushing upon their own battalions, threw them into the greatest confusion. This gave victory to the Romans, and along with it empire. For by the courage exerted and the exploits achieved this day, they acquired a loftiness of sentiment and an enlargement of power, with the reputation of being invincible, which soon gained them the whole of Italy, and not long afterward Sicily.

Thus Pyrrhus fell from his hopes of Italy and Sicily, after he had wasted six years in these expeditions. It is true, he was not successful; but amidst all his defeats he preserved his courage unconquerable, and was reputed to excel in military experience and personal prowess all the princes of his time. But what he gained by heroism, he lost by vain hopes; his desire of something absent never suffering him effectually to persevere in a present pursuit. Hence it was, that Antigonus compared him to a gamester, who makes many good throws at dice, but knows not how to improve his game.

With eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse, he returned to Epirus; but, not having funds to maintain them, he sought for a war which might answer that end: and being joined by a body of Gauls, he marched into Macedon, where Demetrius' son Antigonus at that time sat on the throne. His design was only to pillage, and carry off booty; but having taken many cities, and drawn over two thousand of Antigonus' men, he enlarged his views and marched against the king. Coming up with him in a narrow pass, he put his whole army in disorder. The Gauls however, who composed Antigonus' rear, being a numerous body, made a gallant resistance. The dispute was sharp, but at last most of them were cut in pieces; and they who had the charge of the elephants, being surrounded, delivered up both themselves and the beasts. After so signal an advantage Pyrrhus, following his fortune rather

than any rational plan, pushed against the Macedonian phalanx, now struck with terror and consternation at their loss. And perceiving that they refused to attack or engage with him, he stretched out his hand to their commanders and other officers, at the same time calling them all by their names; by which means he drew over the enemy's infantry. Antigonus, therefore, was forced to fly: he persuaded, however, some of the maritime towns to remain under his government.

Amidst so many instances of success Pyrrhus, concluding that his exploit against the Gauls was far the most glorious, consecrated the most splendid and valuable of the spoils in the temple of Minerva Itonis[42], with this inscription;

These shields, which Pyrrhus wrested from the Gaul,
To thee, Itonis, he suspends. Yet small
The wonder, crush'd Antigonus displays:
Heroes were ever Æacus's race.

After the battle, he soon regained possession of the cities. When he had made himself master of Ægæ[43], among other hardships put upon the inhabitants, he placed in it a garrison draughted from those Gauls who had served under him. The Gauls of all men are the most covetous of money; and they immediately broke open the tombs of the kings who were buried there, plundered the treasures, and insolently scattered their bones. Pyrrhus passed the matter very slightly over; whether it were, that the affairs which he had upon his hands obliged him to defer the inquiry, or that he was afraid of the Gauls, and

[42] Near Larissa, in Thessaly. She had another temple, dedicated to her under the same name, near Coronæa in Bœotia. This denomination was derived to her from Itonus, the son of Amphictyon, the founder. (See Pausan. ix. 34., and i. 13.)*

[43] Originally called Edessa, and the residence of the Macedonian kings, till Philip removed the court to Pella. The name was changed by Caranus, the founder of that kingdom, from his having surprised it during a storm, under the guidance of a herd of goats.*

did not dare to punish them. This connivance, however, was much censured by the Macedonians.

His interest was not well established among them, neither had he any good prospect of it's security, when he began to entertain new visionary hopes; and in ridicule of Antigonus said, "He wondered "at his impudence, in not laying aside the purple, "and taking the habit of a private person."

About this time, Cleonymus the Spartan came to entreat him to march to Lacedæmon, and he lent a willing ear to his request. Cleonymus was of the blood royal; but as he seemed to be of a violent temper and inclined to arbitrary power, he was neither loved nor trusted by the Spartans, and Areus was appointed to the throne. This was an old complaint, which he had against the citizens in general. And to this we must add that, when advanced in years, he had married a young lady of great beauty named Chelidonis, who was of the royal family and daughter to Leotychides. Chelidonis entertaining a violent passion for Acrotatus the son of Areus, who was both young and handsome, rendered the match not only uneasy but disgraceful to the enamoured Cleonymus; for there was not a man in Sparta, who did not know how much he was despised by his wife. These domestic misfortunes, added to his public ones, provoked him to apply to Pyrrhus; who marched to Sparta with twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants. Such mighty preparations rendered it evident at one view, that Pyrrhus did not come to gain Sparta for Cleonymus, but Peloponnesus for himself. He made indeed very different professions to the Lacedæmonians, who sent an embassy to him at Megalopolis: for he told them, that he was only come to set free the cities, which were in subjection to Antigonus; and (what is more extraordinary) that he fully intended, if nothing happened to prevent it, to send his younger sons to Sparta for a Lacedæmonian edu-

cation, that they might in this respect have the advantage of all other kings.

With such pretences he amused those who came to meet him on his march; but, as soon as he set foot in Laconia, he began to plunder and ravage it. And, upon the embassadors representing that he had commenced hostilities without a previous declaration of war, he said; "And do we not know, that you "Spartans never declare beforehand what measures "you are going to take?" To which a Spartan named Mandricidas, who was in company, replied in his Laconic dialect; "If thou art a god, thou "wilt do us no harm, because we have done thee "none: if thou art a man, perhaps we may find a "better man than thyself."

In the mean time he moved toward Lacedæmon, and was advised by Cleonymus to give the assault immediately upon his arrival. But Pyrrhus (as we are told) fearing that his soldiers would plunder the city if they took it by night, put him off, and said they would proceed to the assault the next day. For he knew, that there were but few men within the city, and those unprepared on account of his sudden approach; and that Areus the king was absent, being gone to Crete to succour the Gortynians. The contemptible idea, which Pyrrhus had conceived of it's weakness and want of men, was the principal cause of it's salvation. For, supposing that he should not encounter the least resistance, he ordered his tents to be pitched, and sat quietly down; while the helots and friends of Cleonymus busied themselves in adorning and preparing his house, in expectation that Pyrrhus would sup with them there that evening.

Night being come, the Lacedæmonians resolved in the first place to send off their women to Crete, but they strongly opposed it: and Archidamia, entering the senate with a sword in her hand, complained of the mean opinion which they entertained

of the women, if they imagined that they would survive the destruction of Sparta. They next determined to draw a trench parallel to the enemy's camp, and at each end of it to sink waggons into the ground as deep as the naves of the wheels, that so being firmly fixed they might stop the course of the elephants. As soon as the work was begun, both matrons and maids came and joined them: the former with their robes tucked up, and the latter in their under-garments only, to assist the more aged. Those that were intended for the fight they advised to repose themselves, and in the mean time they undertook to finish a third part of the trench, which they effected before morning. This trench (according to Phylarchus) was in breadth six and in depth four cubits, and eight hundred feet long. Hieronymus makes it less.

At day-break, the enemy was in motion: upon which the women armed the youth with their own hands, and gave them the trench in charge, exhorting them to guard it well, and representing, "How delightful it would be to conquer in the view "of their country, or how glorious to expire in the "arms of their mothers and their wives, when they "had met their deaths as became Spartans." As for Chelidonis, she retired into her own apartment with a rope about her neck, determined to end her days by it, rather than to fall (if the city were taken) into Cleonymus' hands.

Pyrrhus now pressed forward with his infantry against the Spartans, who waited for him under a rampart of shields. But, beside that the ditch was scarcely passable, he found that there was no firm footing on the sides of it for his soldiers, because of the looseness of the fresh earth. His son Ptolemy observing this, made a circuit about the trench with two thousand Gauls and a select body of Chaonians, and endeavoured to open a passage on the quarter of the waggons. These however were so deeply fixed and so closely locked together, that they not

only obstructed their passage, but rendered it difficult for the Spartans to come up and make a close defence. The Gauls were now beginning to drag out the wheels, and draw the waggons into the river; when young Acrotatus perceiving the danger traversed the city with three hundred men, and by the advantage of some hollow ways surrounded Ptolemy, not having been seen till he began the attack upon his rear. Ptolemy was now forced to face about, and stand on the defensive. In the confusion many of his soldiers, running foul upon each other, either tumbled into the ditch or fell under the waggons. At last, after a long dispute and much effusion of blood, they were entirely routed. The old men, and the women, were witnesses of this valiant exploit of Acrotatus; and as he returned through the city to his post covered with blood, bold and elated with his victory, he appeared to the Spartan women taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not help envying Chelidonis such a lover. Nay, some of the old men followed and cried out; "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis: and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta[44]!"

The dispute was more obstinate, where Pyrrhus fought in person. Many of the Spartans distinguished themselves in the action, and among the rest Phyllius made a glorious stand. He slew numbers, who endeavoured to force a passage; and when he found himself ready to faint under his wounds, he gave up his post to one of the officers near him, and retired to die in the midst of his own party, that the enemy might not get his body into their power.

Night parted the combatants; and Pyrrhus, as he lay in his tent, had the following dream: he thought

44. How fallen from the purity of their ancestors, who (as appears from the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I.) did not think adultery a possible crime at Sparta, and had therefore made no penal provision against it! *

he darted lightening upon Lacedæmon[45], which set all the city on fire, and that the sight filled him with joy. The transport awaking him, he ordered his officers to put their men under arms; and to some of his friends he related his vision, from which he assured himself that he should take the city by storm. The thing was received with admiration, and a general assent; but it was not satisfactory to Lysimachus. He said that, "As no foot is to tread "on places struck by lightening, the Deity by this "might presignify to Pyrrhus, that the city should "remain inaccessible to him[46]." Pyrrhus replied, "These visions may serve as amusements for the "vulgar, but there is not any thing in the world "more uncertain. While then you have your "weapons in your hands, remember, my friends,

"The best of omens is the cause of Pyrrhus[47]."

So saying, he arose, and as soon as it was light renewed the attack. The Lacedæmonians stood upon their defence, with an alacrity and a spirit above their strength: and the women attended, supplying them with arms, giving bread and drink to such as wanted them, and taking care of the wounded. The Macedonians then attempted to fill up the ditch, bringing immense quantities of materials, and throwing them in so as to cover the arms and bodies of the dead. The Lacedæmonians, on their part, redoubled their efforts against them: when suddenly

[45] Some, instead of αυτος, read αετος; and then the English will run thus, 'He thought an eagle darted lightening, &c.' But if that reading be preferred, because the eagle bore Jupiter's thunder and Pyrrhus had the name of 'Eagle,' it ought to take place likewise in the last member of the sentence, which should be rendered, 'and that the sight filled the eagle with joy.'

[46] To this Persius alludes, ii. 27.—*Evitandumque bidental.**

[47] A parody of a line in Hector's speech to Polydamas (Il. xii. 243.) (L.) in which the word 'Pyrrhus' is substituted for 'our Country.' A noble maxim, in it's original form! Epaminondas at the battle of 'Leuctra,' when dissuaded on account of some unfavourable omens from giving battle, made a similar reply *

thus appeared upon their side of the trench, where the waggons had been planted to stop the passage, advancing at full speed toward the city. The soldiers who had the charge of that post cried out, and the women fled with loud shrieks and wailings. In the mean time Pyrrhus was pushing on, and overthrowing all who opposed him. But his horse receiving a wound in the belly from a Cretan arrow, ran away, and plunging in the pains of death, threw him upon steep and slippery ground. As his friends pressed toward him in great confusion, the Spartans came boldly up, and making good use of their arrows drove them all back. Upon this Pyrrhus put an entire stop to the action, thinking the Spartans would abate of their vigour, now that they were almost all wounded, and vast numbers of them slain. But the fortune of Sparta, whether she were satisfied with this trial of the unassisted valour of her sons, or wished to show her power to retrieve the most desperate circumstances, just as their hopes were beginning to expire, brought to their relief from Corinth Aminius the Phocensian, one of Antigonus' officers, with an army of strangers; and these had no sooner entered the town, than Areus their king arrived from Crete with two thousand men more. The women now immediately retired to their houses, thinking it needless to concern themselves any farther in the war: the old men likewise, who notwithstanding their age had been forced to bear arms, were dismissed, and the new supplies substituted in their place.

These reinforcements served only to invigorate the courage of Pyrrhus, and make him more ambitious to take the town. Finding however that he could effect nothing, after a series of losses and ill success he quitted the siege, and began to collect booty from the country, intending to pass the winter there. But fate is unavoidable. There existed at that time a strong contention at Argos, between the parties of Aristeas and Aristippus; and, as Aristip-

pus appeared to have a connection with Antigonus, Aristeas to be beforehand with him called in Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus, whose hopes grew as fast as they were cut off, who if he met with success only considered it as a step to higher things, and if with disappointment, endeavoured to compensate it by some new advantage, would neither let his victories nor his losses put a period to his disturbing both the world and himself. He began his march, therefore, immediately for Argos. Areus by frequent ambushes, and by possessing himself of the difficult passes, cut off many of the Gauls and Molossians who brought up his rear. In the sacrifice, which Pyrrhus had offered, the liver was found without a head; and the soothsayer had thence forewarned him, that he was in danger of losing some person dear to him. But in the hurry and disorder of this unexpected attack he forgot the menace from the victim, and ordered his son Ptolemy with some of his guards to the assistance of the rear, whilst he himself pushed on and disengaged his main body from those dangerous passages. In the mean time, Ptolemy met with a very warm reception; for he was engaged by a select party of Lacedæmonians, under the command of Evalcus. In the heat of action a Cretan of Aptera named Orœsus, a man of remarkable strength and swiftness, came up with the young prince as he was fighting with great gallantry, and with a blow on the side laid him dead upon the spot. Upon this, his party turned their backs and fled. The Lacedæmonians pursued them, and in the ardour of victory insensibly advancing into the open plain, got at a considerable distance from their infantry. Pyrrhus, who by this time had heard of the death of his son, and was deeply afflicted by it, drew out his Molossian horse, and charging at the head of them satiated himself with the blood of the Lacedæmonians. He always indeed appeared great and invincible in arms, but now in point of courage and force he outdid all his former exploits. Having

found out Evalcus, he spurred his horse against him: but Evalcus, inclining a little on one side, aimed a stroke at him, which had nearly cut off his bridle-hand. It happened, however, only to cut the reins; and Pyrrhus, seizing the favourable moment, ran him through with his spear. Then springing from his horse, he fought on foot, and made a terrible havock of those brave Lacedæmonians, who endeavoured to protect the body of Evalcus. The heavy loss, which Sparta now suffered, was solely owing to the ill-timed ambition of her leaders; for the war was at an end before the engagement [48].

Pyrrhus having thus sacrificed to the *manes* of his son, and celebrated a kind of funeral games for him, had vented much of his grief in the fury of the combat, and marched more composed to Argos. Finding that Antigonus kept the high grounds adjoining to the plain, he encamped near the town of Nauplia. Next day he sent a herald to Antigonus, charged with abusive terms and with a challenge to come down into the field, and fight with him for the kingdom. Antigonus said, "Time is the weapon which "I use, as much as the sword; and, if Pyrrhus is "weary of his life, there are many ways to end it." To both the kings came embassadors from Argos, entreating them to retire, and to spare that city the humiliation of being subjected to either, which had a friendship for them both. Antigonus agreed to the overture, and sent his son to the Argives as a hostage. Pyrrhus at the same time promised to retire, but sending no hostage he was much suspected.

Amidst these transactions, Pyrrhus was alarmed with a tremendous prodigy. For the heads of the sacrifice-oxen, when severed from the bodies, were seen to thrust out their tongues, and lick up their own gore. And in Argos the priestess of Apollo

[48] Dacier quotes a proverb upon this occasion, "That one ought [to] lay a silver bridge for a flying enemy;" and upon the spirit of [th]is Themistocles acted, in hurrying Xerxes out of Greece after the [ba]ttle of Salamis.

Lyceus ran about the streets, crying out that she saw the city full of dead carcases and blood, and an eagle joining in the fight, and then immediately vanishing.

In the dead of night Pyrrhus approached the walls, and finding the gate called Diamperes opened to him by Aristeas, he was not discovered till his Gauls had entered and seized the market-place. But the gate not being high enough to receive the elephants, they were forced to take off their towers; and having afterward to put them on again in the dark, it could not be done without noise and loss of time, by which means they were discovered. The Argives ran into the citadel called Aspis [49], and other places of defence, and sent to call in Antigonus. But he only advanced toward the walls, to watch his opportunity for action, and contented himself with despatching to them some of his principal officers and his son with considerable succours.

At the same time, Areus arrived in the town with a thousand Cretans and the most active of his Spartans. All these troops fell at once upon the Gauls, and threw them into great disorder. Pyrrhus entered at a place called Cylarabis [50] with great noise and loud shouts, which were echoed by the Gauls; but he thought their shouts were neither full nor bold, but rather expressive of terror and distress. He therefore advanced in the utmost haste, pushing

[49] There was an annual feast at Argos in honour of Juno, called Ἡραῖα (Junonia) and also 'Hecatombia' from the hecatomb of oxen then offered. Among other games, the following prize was proposed for the youth: In a place of considerable strength above the theatre, a brazen buckler was nailed to the wall, and they were to try their strength in plucking it off. The victor was crowned with a myrtle garland, and had the buckler [in Greek 'Aspis'] for his pains; hence the name of the fort. Not only the youth of Argos, but strangers were admitted to the contest; as appears from Pindar, where speaking of Diagoras of Rhodes he says,

The Argive buckler knew him. (Ol. vii. 152.)

[50] Cylarabis was a place of exercise, near one of the gates of Argos (Pausan ii. 22., Liv. xxxiv. 26.)

forward his cavalry, though they marched in danger, on account of the drains and sewers of which the city was full. Besides, in this nocturnal war it was impossible either to see what was done, or to hear what orders were given. The soldiers were scattered about, and lost their way among the narrow streets; neither could the officers rally them in the darkness, amidst such a variety of noises and in such straight passages; so that both sides continued without effecting any thing, and waited for day light.

At the first dawn, Pyrrhus was concerned to see the Aspis full of armed men; but his concern was changed into consternation, when among the many figures in the market-place he beheld a wolf and a bull in brass, represented in the act of engaging. For he recollected an old oracle, which had foretold, "That it was his destiny to die, whenever he should "see a wolf encountering a bull." The Argives say, these figures were erected in memory of an accident, which had happened among them long before. They inform us, that when Danaüs first entered their country, as he passed through the district of Thyreatis [51], by way of Pyramia which leads to Argos, he saw a wolf fighting with a bull. Danaüs imagined, that the wolf represented himself; for being a stranger he came to attack the natives, as the wolf did the bull. He therefore waited to see the issue of the fight, and the wolf proving victorious, he offered his devotions to Apollo Lyceus, and then assaulted and took the town; Gelanor, who was at that time king, being deposed by a faction. Such is the history of those figures.

Pyrrhus quite dispirited at the sight, and perceiving at the same time that nothing succeeded according to his hopes, thought it best to withdraw. Fearing that the gates were too narrow, he sent orders to his son Helenus, who had been left with the main body without the town, to demolish part of the wall

[51] See Strabo viii., and Thucyd v 41.*

and assist the retreat, if the enemy tried to obstruct it. But the person whom he sent mistaking the order in the hurry and tumult, and delivering it in quite a contrary sense, the young prince entered the gates with the rest of the elephants and the best of his troops, and marched to assist his father. Pyrrhus was now retiring; and, while the market-place afforded room both to retreat and to fight, he often faced about and repulsed the assailants. But, when from that broad place he came into the narrow street leading to the gate, he fell in with those who were advancing to his assistance. It was in vain to call out to them to fall back: there were but few that could hear him; and such as did hear, and were most disposed to obey his orders, were pushed back by those who came pouring in behind. The largest of the elephants, likewise, was fallen in the gateway on his side; and, braying there in a horrible manner, stopped those who were striving to get out. And among the elephants already in the town one named Nicon, seeking to recover his master who had fallen off wounded, rushed against the party that was retreating; and overturned both friends and enemies promiscuously, till he found the body. He then took it up with his trunk, and carrying it on his two tusks returned in great fury, and trod down all before him. When they were thus pressed and crowded together, none of them could do any thing singly, but the whole multitude like one close compacted body rolled this way and that all together. They exchanged but few blows with the enemy, either in front or rear, and the greatest harm they did was to themselves. For, if any man drew his sword or levelled his pike, he could not recover the one, or put up the other; the next person therefore, whoever he happened to be, was necessarily wounded, and thus many of them fell by the hands of each other.

Pyrrhus, seeing the billows and the tempest rolling about him, took off the plume by which his

helmet was distinguished, and gave it to one of his friends. Then trusting to the goodness of his horse, he rode in among the enemy, who were harassing his rear; and was accidentally wounded through the breast-plate with a javelin. The wound was neither dangerous nor large; but he turned against the man that gave it, who was an Argive of no note, the son of a poor old woman. This woman among others, looking upon the fight from the roof of a house, beheld her son thus engaged. Seized with terror at the sight, she took up a large tile with both hands, and threw it at Pyrrhus. The tile fell upon his head, and notwithstanding his helmet crushed the lower vertebræ of his neck. Darkness in a moment covered his eyes, his hands let go the reins, and he fell from his horse by Licymnius' tomb[52].

[52] There is something strikingly contemptible in the fate of this ferocious warrior. What reflections may it not afford to those scourges of mankind, who in order to extend their power and gratify their pride, tear out the vitals of human society! How unfortunate that they do not recollect their own personal insignificance, and consider, while they are disturbing the peace of the earth, that they are beings whom an old woman may kill with a stone! It is impossible here to forget the obscure fate of Charles the Twelfth, or the following verses which describe them, extracted from Johnson's 'Vanity of Human Wishes:'

On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide;
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire.
O'er love, o'er fear extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain:
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield;
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field.
Behold surrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate, and one resign.
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain:
"Think nothing gain'd," he cries, "till nought remain;
"On Moscow's wall till Gothic standards fly,
"And all be mine beneath the polar sky."
The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait.
Stern famine guards the solitary coast,
And winter barricades the realm of frost.

The crowd around him did not know who he was; but one Zopyrus who served under Antigonus, and two or three others coming up recognised him, and dragged him into a porch near at hand, just as he was beginning to recover from the blow. Zopyrus had drawn his Illyrian blade to cut off his head, when Pyrrhus opened his eyes, and gave him so fierce a look that he was struck with terror. His hands trembled, and between his desire to give the stroke and his confusion he missed his neck, and only wounded him in the mouth and chin, so that it was a long time before he could separate the head from the body.

By this time, the thing was generally known; and Alcyoneus the son of Antigonus came hastily up, and asked for the head, as if he wished only to look upon it. But as soon as he had gotten it, he rode off with it to his father, and cast it at his feet, as he was sitting with his friends. Antigonus looking upon the head, and knowing it, thrust his son from him and struck him with his staff, calling him an impious and a barbarous wretch. Then putting his robe before his eyes, he wept in remembrance of the fate of his grandfather Antigonus [53], and that of his fa-

He comes: not want and cold his course delay——
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day!
The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands;
Condemn'd a needy supplicant to wait,
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?—
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand.
He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale!

[53] Antigonus I., as we have stated in a former note, was killed at the battle of Ipsus; and Demetrius I. whose Life Plutarch has written, died in the dungeon, where he had been long confined by his son-in-law Seleucus.

ther Demetrius, two instances in his own house of the mutability of fortune. As for the head and body of Pyrrhus, he ordered them to be laid in magnificent attire upon the funeral-pile, and burned. After this Alcyoneus meeting with Helenus in deep distress and shabby apparel, addressed him courteously, and conducted him to his father; who said, "In "this, my son, you have acted much better than be-"fore, but still you are deficient: for you should "have taken off that mean habit, which is a greater "disgrace to us the victors, than it is to the van-"quished."

He then paid his respects to Helenus in a very obliging manner, and sent him to Epirus with a proper equipage. He gave also the same kind reception to Pyrrhus' friends, after he had made himself master of his whole camp and army.

THE

LIFE

OF

CAIUS MARIUS.

SUMMARY.

Different customs of the Romans, with regard to proper names. Marius' character, and first campaigns. Scipio's anticipation of his future greatness. His tribuneship. Rejected in his competition for the ædileship: he obtains the office of prætor, as surmised, by bribery: takes the command in Spain: marries Julia, of the family of the Cæsars. His fortitude in enduring pain. He goes into Africa, as Metellus' lieutenant. His conduct in that war. He gets Turpilius capitally condemned: is elected consul: pronounces his own eulogy, and shows great contempt for the patricians. Bocchus surrenders Jugurtha to Marius' quæstor Sylla, whence the implacable quarrel of those two Roman officers. Marius' second consulship. Origin of the Cimbri. They resolve to attack Rome. Marius' election opposed, but without success: his triumph. Jugurtha's death. Marius sets off for the army. He enures his troops to hardship. His admirable behaviour to Trebonius. Third and fourth consulships. He opens a canal, as a new mouth to the Rhone: declines engaging, in order to accustom his soldiers to the looks of the barbarians. His Syrian fortune-teller. Various presages of his success. He pursues the enemy, who had decamped: his victory. Anxiety of the Romans, during the night. Preparations for a second action: his second victory. He is a fifth time elected consul. Intelligence of Catulus' army. Marius sets off to join it. His arrangements for battle: the Romans victorious: the two consuls honoured with a triumph. Reflections on Marius' character. He associates himself with Glaucias and Saturninus. His sixth

consulship; and dishonest condescensions. He swears to Saturninus' law: Metellus refuses, and goes into exile. Marius is obliged to take up arms against Saturninus, who with his accomplices is killed. Metellus is recalled. Marius passes into Asia. Commencement of the War of the Allies. Marius' conduct. He solicits the command of the army against Mithridates: is obliged to leave Rome. His son escapes from his enemies. Marius' flight, and sufferings. Old presages, by which he supports himself. Fresh danger, which he escapes. He conceals himself in a marsh but is taken. No one dares to despatch him, and he is set at liberty. He lands in Africa, whence he is driven by Sextilius: is rejoined by his son, and returns to Italy: unites with Cinna, and takes possession of the Janiculum. Death of the consul Octavius. Marius' cruelties. Cornutus is preserved by his slaves. Death of Mark Antony, and Catulus. Atrocities committed in Rome. Marius' seventh consulship: his anxieties; and death. Reflections on his ambition, attachment to life, &c. Death of his son Marius.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius[1], any more than we do of Quintus Sertorius who held Spain so long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the surname of Achaïcus, Mummius gained by his conquest, as Scipio did that of Africanus, and Metellus that of Macedonicus. Posidonius avails himself chiefly of this argument to confute those, who hold the third to be the Roman proper name (Camillus, for instance, and Marcellus, and Cato); for in that case those, who had only two names, would have had no proper name at all. But he did not consider, that by this reasoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the first, which Posidonius supposed to be the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one is common to the whole family, as the Pompeii,

[1] Hence the name of Nepos, given him by some historians, is without foundation.*

Manlii, Cornelii, (in the same manner as, with us, the Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ)and the other was a surname given them from something remarkable in their dispositions, their actions, or the form of their bodies; as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus, and Callinicus, among the Greeks. But the diversity of customs in this respect leaves much room for farther inquiry [2].

As to the figure of Marius, we have seen at Ravenna in Gaul [3] his statue in marble, which perfectly expressed all that has been said of his sternness and austerity of behaviour. For being naturally robust and warlike, and better acquainted with the discipline of the camp than that of the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is said that

[2] The Romans had usually three names; the *Prænomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as Aulus, Caius, Decimus, was the proper or distinguishing name between brothers, during the time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family-name, answering to the Grecian patronymics. For, as among the Greeks the posterity of Æacus were called Æacidæ, so the Julian family had that name from Iulus or Ascanius. But there were several other things, which gave rise to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents; for instance, Porcius, Ovilius, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to distinguish the several branches of a family. It was assumed from no certain cause, but generally from some particular occurrence. It became however hereditary, except it happened to be changed for a more honourable appellation, as Africanus, Macedonicus. But it should be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often used as a proper name, and brothers were distinguished by it, as Titus Flavius Vespasianus, and Titus Flavius Sabinus.

As to women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, such as Caia, Lucia, &c. (Val. Max. x.) But afterward they seldom used any other beside the family-name, as Julia, Tullia, and the like. Where there were two sisters in a house, the distinguishing appellations were Major and Minor; if a greater number, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, &c.

With respect to the men, who had only two names, a family might be so mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen*; or there might be so few of the family, that there was no occasion for it to distinguish the branches.

[3] *Viz.* Cisalpine Gaul; for so part of the north of modern Italy was denominated by the Romans.*

he neither learned to read Greek, nor would ever make use of that language upon any serious occasion; thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning a language, of which the teachers were slaves. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner, he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then immediately departed. As Plato therefore used to say to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had a morose and unpolished manner, "Good "Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces;" so if any one could have persuaded Marius to sacrifice to the Grecian Muses and Graces, he would never have brought his noble achievements both in war and peace to so shocking a conclusion; neither would he ever have been hurried by passion, unseasonable ambition, and insatiable avarice to split upon the rocks of a barbarous and cruel old age. But this will soon appear from his actions themselves.

His parents were obscure and indigent people, who supported themselves by labour: his father's name was the same with his own; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taste of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he led at Cirrætum, a village in the territory of Arpinum[4], a life which, compared with the elegance of polished life, was perfectly rustic; but at the same time it was temperate, and much resembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his first campaign against the Celtiberians[5], when Scipio Africanus was besieging Numantia. That general did not fail to notice his superiority to the other young soldiers in courage, and his ready adoption of the reformation in point of

[4] A corruption of 'Cernetum' Pliny informs us (N. H. iii. 5.) that the inhabitants of Cernetum were called 'Mariani,' undoubtedly from Marius their townsman, who had distinguished himself in so extraordinary a manner. (L.) Arpinum was also the native province of Cicero.

[5] B. C. 133. The Celtiberians were a people of Old Castile.

diet, which he had introduced into armies before almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is said also, that he encountered and killed an enemy in the sight of Scipio; who therefore distinguished him by many marks of honour, and among the rest by inviting him to his table. One evening the conversation happening to turn upon the illustrious commanders then in being, some person in the party, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he really wished to be informed, asked; "Where the Romans "should find such another general, when he was "gone?" upon which Scipio, putting his hand upon the shoulder of Marius, who sat next him, said, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both those great men, that the one while but a youth gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from those beginnings could discover the long series of glory which was to follow.

This saying of Scipio's we are told, raised the hopes of Marius like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing which animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had an hereditary dependence, he was chosen a tribune of the people[6]. In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul therefore persuaded the senate to reject it, and to summon Marius to give an account of his conduct. This decree being passed, Marius upon entering the senate showed none of the embarrassment of a young man advanced to office without having previously distinguished himself: but, assuming before-hand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to send Cotta to prison, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up and voted with the consul. Upon

[6] B C. 119.

which Marius called in a lictor, and ordered him to take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes: but, as not one of them gave him any assistance, the senate yielded and repealed their decree. Marius, highly distinguished by this victory, went immediately from the senate to the Forum, and got his law confirmed by the people.

From this time, he passed for a man of inflexible resolution; one not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently one who would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the senate. But this opinion was soon altered by his taking quite a different part. For a law having been proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them. By which action he gained equal esteem from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of ædiles: the one called 'Curule,' from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he despatches business; the other, of a degree much inferior, denominated 'Plebeian.' The more honourable ædiles are first chosen, and then the people proceed on the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his betrayed a disagreeable and importunate obstinacy, he miscarried in that also. Yet, though he was twice baffled in his application in one day (which never happened to any man except himself) he was not in the least discouraged. For not long afterward he stood for the prætorship, and was near being again rejected. He was indeed returned last of all, and was even then accused of bribery. What contributed most to the suspicion was, that a servant of Cassius Sabaco had been seen within the rails among the electors; for Sabaco was one of Marius' intimate friends. He was

summoned therefore by the judges, and being interrogated upon the point replied, "That the heat having made him very thirsty, he had asked for cold "water; upon which his servant brought him a cup, "and withdrew as soon as he had drank." Sabaco was expelled the senate by the next censors[7], and it was thought he deserved that brand of infamy, as having been guilty either of falsehood, or of intemperance. Caius Herennius was also cited, as a witness against Marius; but he alleged, that it was not customary for Patrons (so the Romans call protectors) to give evidence against their Clients, and that the law excused them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himself opposed it, and told Herennius that, upon his being first created a magistrate, he ceased to be his client. But this was not altogether true. For it is not every office, that frees clients and their posterity from the service due to their patrons, but only those magistracies to which the law assigns a curule chair. Marius however, during the first days of trial, found that matters ran against him, his judges being very unfavourable: at last the votes proved equal, and he was unexpectedly acquitted.

In his prætorship, he did nothing to raise him to distinction. But at the expiration of this office, the Farther Spain falling to his lot, he is said to have cleared it of robbers. That province was as yet uncivilized and savage in it's manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing but what was highly honourable in robbery[8]. Upon his return to Rome, he was desirous to have his share in the administration, but he had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him; though these were the instruments, by which the great men of those times governed the people. His high spirit however, his indefatigable

[7] He had, probably, caused one of his slaves to vote among the freemen. (L.) For the privileges of Patrons, alluded to below, see the Life of Romulus, Vol. I.*

[8] This is no uncommon feature among barbarians. Thucyd. I. 5.*

industry, and his plain manner of living recommended him so effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices and by offices power: so that he was deemed worthy of the alliance of the Cæsars, and married Julia of that illustrious family. Cæsar, who subsequently raised himself to the head of Roman affairs, was her nephew; and, on account of his relation to Marius, showed himself extremely solicitous for his honour, as we have related in his Life[9].

Marius, along with his temperance, was possessed of great fortitude in enduring pain. Of this an extraordinary proof occurred, during a process in surgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being vexed at the deformity, he determined to put himself into the hands of a surgeon. He would not be bound however, but stretched out one of his legs to the knife; and, without motion or groan, bore the inexpressible agony of the operation in silence and with a settled countenance. But when the surgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not suffer him; saying, "I see the cure is not worth the pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus the consul[10], being appointed to the chief command in the war against Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils did not seek, like his collegues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his credit: but regarding himself as called to the lieutenancy not by that general, but by Fortune, who had offered him a most seasonable opportunity and a most noble theatre for splendid achievements, he exerted all his powers. That war presenting many critical occasions, he neither declined the most difficult service, nor

[9] When at his aunt's funeral, he produced the brilliant and highly-finished images of Marius victorious over the Cimbri, which till then nobody under Sylla's government durst exhibit, and by this instance of hardihood captivated the hearts of the Roman people.*

[10] Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul with M. Junius Silanus, B. C. In this expedition, he acquired the surname of Numidicus.

thought the most servile beneath him. Thus surpassing his equals in prudence and foresight, and rivalling the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For it is no small consolation to any one, who is obliged to work, to see another voluntarily participating in his hardships; as it seems to take off the feeling of compulsion. There is not indeed a more agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than that of his general eating the same dry bread [11] which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or assisting his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark. For the soldier does not so much admire those officers, who permit him to share in their honours or their money, as those who will partake with him in toil and danger; and he is more attached to one who will assist him in his labour, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.

By these steps Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers: his glory, his influence, his reputation spread throughout Africa, and extended even to Rome: the men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the

[11] Εν οψει, which the English translator renders 'publicly,' and the French '*a la vûe de tout le monde*,' is never to be met with in any good Greek author in that sense. The text indeed plainly appears to be corrupted; for the word θεαμα, 'spectacle,' just before, entirely precludes the expression εν οψει, 'publicly.' Bryan saw the corruption, and has proposed to read ανευ οψου, 'without meat or sauce;' but we would rather choose to read ανοψον, because the literal alteration will be the less. It certainly must be matter of great joy to the common soldier, to see 'his general eat the same dry bread with him.' Dacier, likewise, noticed the error, and proposed to read εν οξει, 'dipped in vinegar.' Here, it must be owned, is the change of one letter only, but the sense does not seem to be so strong. The learned reader will choose which emendation he pleases. (L.)

Langhorne hardly does Dacier justice, in suppressing the authorities upon which he founds his conjecture: *viz.* that of Ruth ii. 14., and of Plautus (Rud. iv. 2. 32.)

Sed hic rex cum aceto pransurus est et sale, sine bono pulmento.

This custom has, likewise, been referred to in a former note.*

war in those parts would be to elect Marius consul. This occasioned no small anxiety to Metellus, but what distressed him most was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of master of the artificers[12]; but being through his interest appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct gave them an opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha[13]. Turpilius, however, suffered no injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account, he was accused of having betrayed the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only himself severe against him, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against Metellus' opinion, and much against his own inclination he passed upon him sentence of death. A little while afterward, the accusation appearing to have been a false one[14], all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow: but Marius with joy declared the thing was his doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in Metellus' "breast, who would not fail to punish him for having "put to death the hereditary friend of his family."

They now became open enemies; and one day when Marius was standing by, we are told that Metellus said by way of insult, "You intend then, my good "friend, to leave us, and go home to solicit the con-"sulship: would you not be contented to stay, and "be consul with this son of mine?" The son of

[12] An officer, like our Comptroller of the Board of Works. Among Gruter's inscriptions, several persons have the title of '*Præfectus Fabrorum.*'

[13] They put the Roman garrison to the sword, sparing none but Turpilius.

[14] Not, however, at the time when Sallust wrote his History. Bell. Jug. lxxi.

Metellus was, at that time, very young. Notwithstanding this, Marius still kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At last, when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he dismissed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he despatched it in two days and a night. Upon his arrival, he offered sacrifice before he embarked: and the soothsayer is said to have told him, "That heaven announced the noblest success, superior to all his hopes." Elevated with this promise, he set sail, and having a fair wind crossed the sea in four days. The people immediately expressed their inclination for him; and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many false charges against Metellus, in order to secure the consulship for himself; promising at the same time either to kill Jugurtha, or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applause, and immediately began his levies; in which he observed neither law nor custom, for he enlisted many needy persons and even slaves[15]. These had not been admitted by former generals, who entrusted only persons of property with arms as with other honours, considering that property as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Neither was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold speeches, accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the patricians considerable uneasiness. For he scrupled not to say, "That he had taken the consulate, as a prey, from "the effeminacy of the high-born and the rich; and "that he could glory to the people in his own wounds, "not in the images of others or the monuments of "the dead." He took frequent occasion likewise to mention Bestia and Albinus, generals who had been chiefly unfortunate in Africa[16], as men of illustrious

[15] Florus (iii. 1.) does not say he enlisted slaves, but *capite censos*; such as, having no estates, had only 'their names entered in the registers.'

[16] Having basely allowed themselves to be corrupted by Jugurtha.

families, but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful through want of capacity. He would then ask the people, "Whether they did not think, that the "ancestors of those men would have wished rather to "leave a posterity like him; since they themselves "had risen to glory not by their high birth, but by "their virtue and their heroic achievements." These things he said not out of mere vanity and arrogance, or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility; but he saw the people took pleasure in seeing the senate insulted, and that they measured the greatness of a man's mind by the insolence of his language; and therefore, to gratify them, he spared not the noblest men in the state.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and resentment, to think that when he had as it were finished the war, and there remained nothing to take but the person of Jugurtha, Marius who had raised himself merely by ingratitude, should come to snatch away both his victory and his triumph. Unable therefore to bear the sight of him he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up to him the forces. But, before the end of the war, the divine vengeance overtook Marius. For Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had previously robbed Metellus. I shall briefly relate in this place the manner of that transaction, having already given a more particular account of it in the Life of Sylla.

Bocchus, king of the Upper Numidia [17], was father-in law to Jugurtha. He gave him however very little assistance in the war, pretending that he detested his perfidiousness, though in reality he dreaded the increase of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the necessity of apply-

[17] Or Mauritania. (L.) M. L'Abbé Brotier, relying upon one of the readings of Sallust, and some of Sylla's medals, proposes to substitute here, 'Son-in-law.' but M. Vauvilliers more judiciously contends from six MSS of Sallust, and in conformity with Florus iii. 1, for the present term. The medals he, likewise, explains agreeably to his own theory. In this M. Larcher, the celebrated French critic, concurs.*

ing to Bocchus as his last resource, that prince received him rather as his suppliant than as his son-in-law. When he had him in his hands, he affected in public to intercede with Marius in his behalf; alleging in his letters, that he would never give him up, but defend him to the last. At the same time in private intending to betray him, he sent for Lucius Sylla, who was Marius' quæstor, and had rendered Bocchus many services during the war. When Sylla, confiding in his honour, was come to him, the barbarian began to repent, and for some days fluctuated whether he should deliver up Jugurtha or retain Sylla too. At last, adhering to the treachery which he had first conceived, he put Jugurtha alive into Sylla's hands.

Hence the first seeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almost ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this success solely to Sylla; and Sylla himself caused a seal to be made, which represented Bocchus in the act of delivering up to him Jugurtha [18]. This seal he always wore, and constantly sealed his letters with it; a circumstance highly offensive to Marius, who was naturally ambitious and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was instigated to this by Marius' enemies, who ascribed the beginning and the most considerable actions of the war to Metellus, and the last and finishing stroke to Sylla: that so the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius, as the most accomplished of commanders.

The danger however, which now approached Italy from the west, soon dispersed all the envy, hatred, and calumnies which had been raised against Marius. The people in want of an experienced commander, and searching for an able pilot to sit at the helm that the commonwealth might bear up against so dreadful a storm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would stand for the consulship; and therefore

[18] There are still extant consular medals of the family of Sylla, with the same device.*

they elected Marius [19], though absent. For they had no sooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And, though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible, it subsequently appeared short of the truth. For three hundred thousand well-armed warriors were upon the march; and the women and children, whom they brought along with them, were said to be still more numerous. This vast multitude were in search of lands on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to live and settle; as they had heard that the Celtæ before them had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy [20]. As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were [21] or whence they came, on account of their small commerce with the rest of the world, and the length of way which they had marched. It was conjectured indeed from the largeness of their stature and the blueness of their eyes [22], as well as because the Ger-

19 B C. 102

20 In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. (Liv. v. 34.)

21 The Cimbri were descended from the ancient Gomerians or Celts; Cimri, or Cymbri, being only a harsher pronunciation of Gomerai. They were, in all probability, the most ancient people in Germany; and gave their name to the Cimbric Chersonese, (*hod.* Jutland,) a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of the Elbe into the North Sea. They were all accounted the same with the Cimmerians, who inhabited the countries about the Palus Mæotis (Diod Sic. v. 32., and Strabo vii.); which is highly probable, both from the likeness of their names, and from the descendents of Gomer having spread themselves over the whole of that northern tract. (L.)

Some descendents of the Cimbri, it is said (though Whitaker, in his Review of Gibbon's last three 4to. volumes, ridicules the idea, p. 40), are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Verona.*

22 This German feature is noticed, along with their size, by Tac. de Mor. Germ. iv. And it forms a fine trait, in Gray's beautiful [illegible] of these northern invaders of Italy:

As oft have issued, host impelling host,
The blue-eyed myriads of the Baltic coast, &c.

(Ethical Essay, 51.)

the Life of Camillus, not. (36.) Vol. I.*

mans call banditti 'Cimbri,' that they were some of those German nations who dwell by the North Sea.

Some say, the country of the Celtæ is of such immense extent, that it stretches from the western ocean and the most northern climes to the lake Mæotis eastward, and to that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus: that there the two nations mingle and thence issue, not all at once nor at all seasons, but in the spring of every year: that, by means of these annual supplies, they had gradually opened themselves a way over the chief part of the European continent; and that, though they are distinguished by different names according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general appellation of 'Celto-Scythæ.'

Others assert that they were a small part of the Cimmerians, well known to the ancient Greeks; and that quitting their native soil, or having been expelled by the Scythians on account of some sedition, they passed from the Palus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief: but that the greater and more warlike part dwelt in the extremities of the earth, near the North Sea. These inhabit a country so dark and woody, that the sun is seldom seen on account of the many high and spreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian forest[23]. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is such, that by the declination of the parallels it makes almost a vertical point to the inhabitants; and their day and night are of such a length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts, which gave occasion to Homer's fiction concerning the infernal regions[24].

[23] This forest anciently covered nearly the whole of Gaul and Germany, extending to a length of sixty days' journey. (Pomp. Mel. iii. 3.)

[24] Odyss. xi. Homer however places them in Campania, near the lake Avernus, Baiæ, and Cumæ. (See Cellar. in voc. 'Cimmerii.') Plutarch is here far from accurate in his geography. The highest latitude of the Cimbri does not reach beyond 70° N., which is nearly that of Iceland, the *ultima Thule* of the ancients, and in their idea

Hence therefore these barbarians, who came into Italy, first issued; being anciently called Cimmerii, subsequently Cimbri, but not at all from any reference to their manners. Yet these things rest rather upon conjecture, than upon historical certainty. Most historians however agree, that their numbers, instead of being less, were rather greater than we have related. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity; all that came in their way were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many respectable armies and generals [25], employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul, were shamefully routed; and the feeble resistance, which they made to the first efforts of the barbarians, was the chief thing which drew them toward Rome. For having beaten all they met, and loaded themselves with plunder, they determined to settle no where, till they had destroyed Rome and laid waste the whole of Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this intelligence, called Marius to the command, and elected him a second time consul. It was indeed unconstitutional for any one to be chosen who was absent, or who had not waited the regular time between a first and a second consulship; but the people over-ruled all that was said against him. They considered that this was not the first instance, in which the law had given way to the public utility: neither was the present occasion less urgent than that, when, with the same violation of law [26], they made Scipio

the boundary of the world. The longest days and nights under this parallel are not more than two months. The highest northern latitude yet attained is upward of 9° short of the pole.*

[25] Cassius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Cæpio, and Cn. Mallius. (Tac. de Mor. Germ., xxxvii.)

[26] Scipio was elected consul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was forty-two. The people, indeed, dispensed with it in other instances beside this

consul; for then they were not trembling for the safety of their own city, but only ambitious of destroying Carthage. These reasons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa; and entering upon his consulship on the first of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the same day. Jugurtha, now a captive, was a spectacle as agreeable to the Romans, as it was beyond their expectation; no one having ever imagined, that the war could be brought to a period so long as he was alive. So various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himself to all kinds of fortune, and amidst all his subtilty possessed a vein of high spirit. It is said, that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his senses. After the triumph, he was thrown into prison; where, while they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants pulled off the tips of his ears along with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of "yours!" There having struggled for six days with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he met with such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph three thousand and seven pounds of gold, five thousand seven hundred and seventy-five of silver bullion, and of silver coin seventeen thousand and twenty-eight drachmas.

After the solemnity was finished, Marius assembled the senate in the Capitol, where, either through inadvertency or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robe; but soon perceiving that the senate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he set out with the army, he trained his soldiers to hardship while upon the road, accustoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage and pro-

vide his own victuals. So that in after periods laborious people, who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they were ordered, were called 'Marius' mules.' Some, indeed, assign another reason for this proverbial saying. They state, that when Scipio besieged Numantia, he chose to inspect not only the arms and horses, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readiness and good order; upon which occasion Marius brought out his horse in fine condition, and his mule likewise in better case and stronger and gentler than those of others. The general, much pleased with Marius' beasts, often made mention of them; and hence those, who by way of raillery praised a continually drudging patient man, called him 'Marius' mule[27].'

Upon this occasion, it was a most fortunate circumstance for Marius that the barbarians turning their course, like a reflux of the tide, first invaded Spain. For this gave him time to strengthen his men by exercise, and to raise and confirm their courage, and (what was of still greater importance) to show them what he himself was. His severe behaviour and inflexibility in punishing, when it had once accustomed them to regulate their conduct and practise obedience, appeared both just and salutary. After they had been a little used to his hot and violent spirit, to the harsh tone of his voice and the fierceness of his countenance, they no longer considered them as terrible to themselves, but to the enemy. Above all, the soldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; * * * * and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third consulate. Besides, the barbarians were expected in the spring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any other general. They did not however come so soon as they were looked for, and his year of consulship again expired. The time of a new election coming on, and his collegue being dead,

[27] See, also, Fest. *in voc.* 'Muli Mariani.'

Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himself to Rome. Several persons of high merit stood for the consulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who had the greatest influence with the people, being gained by Marius, in all his speeches exhorted them to choose him consul. Marius for his part desired to be excused, pretending that he did not wish for the office; upon which Saturninus called him "a traitor to his country, who "deserted the command in such a time of danger." It was not difficult to see that Marius dissembled, and that the tribune was acting a bungling part under his direction; yet the people, considering that the present juncture required both his capacity and his good fortune, created him consul a fourth time; and appointed Lutatius Catulus his collegue, a man much esteemed by the patricians and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius being informed of the enemy's approach, passed the Alps with the utmost expedition; and, having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it and brought into it an immense supply of provisions; that the want of necessaries might never compel him to fight at a disadvantage. But, as the carriage of provisions by sea was both very tedious and extremely expensive, he found out a method of making it easy and expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choked up with mud and sand, which the beating of the sea had lodged there; so that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for vessels of burthen to enter it. Marius therefore set his army, now quite at leisure, to work upon it; and having caused a cut to be made, capable of receiving large ships, he turned a great part of the river into it: thus drawing it to a coast, where the opening into the sea is easy and secure. This cut still retains his name[28].

The barbarians dividing themselves into two

[28] Some remains of it still subsist, and it's name (*Fossa Mariana*)

bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum against Catulus, and to force that pass; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria along the sea-coast, in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri spent some time in preparing for their march. but the Teutones and Ambrones set out immediately, and pushed forward with much expedition; so that they speedily traversed the intermediate country, and presented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, and in their voice and shouts of war different from all other men. They then spread themselves over a vast extent of ground near Marius; and, when they had encamped, challenged him to battle.

The consul however paid them no regard, but kept his soldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and rashness of those who were anxious to come to action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, "Their ambition should "now be not for triumphs and trophies, but to dis-"pel the dreadful storm that hung over them, and "to save Italy from destruction." These things he said privately to his chief officers, and men of the first rank. As for the common soldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accustom them to bear the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their method of using them. Thus what at first was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become indifferent. He well knew indeed that, with respect to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumstances, and that things really dreadful lose their effect by familiarity. The daily sight indeed of the barbarians not only lessened the dismay

may be traced in the place called 'Foz' The canal itself is now obstructed, and is appropriately denominated 'Le Bras-mort.'

Noricum at present forms the Circle of Bavaria, and Liguria the territory of Genoa.*

of the soldiers, but the menacing behaviour and intolerable vanity of the enemy provoked their resentment and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the utmost insolence and contempt.

Marius at last was told, that the soldiers vented their grief in such complaints as these: "What effeminacy has Marius discovered in us, that he thus "keeps us locked up like so many women, and re"strains us from fighting? Come on: let us with "the spirit of freemen demand of him whether he "expects others to fight for the liberties of Rome, "and intends to employ us only as the vilest labour"ers in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of "dirt, and in turning the course of rivers? It is for "these noble works, no doubt, that he exercises us "in such painful labours; and when they are finish"ed, he will return, and show his fellow-citizens the "glorious fruits of the continuation of his power. "It is true, Carbo and Cæpio were beaten by the "enemy: but does their ill success terrify him? "Surely Carbo and Cæpio were generals as much "inferior to Marius in valour and renown, as we are "superior to the troops which they commanded. "Better it were to be in action, though like them "we suffered from it, than to sit still and see the de"struction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with these speeches, talked to them in a soothing way. He told them, "It was "not from any distrust of them, that he sat still; "but that, by order of certain oracles, he waited "both for the time and place, which were to ensure "to him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman named Martha[29], who was said to have

[29] This, as we learn from the Gospel, was a name not unusual among the women of that country. (Luke x. 38, &c.) Women of an enthusiastic character were often employed upon these occasions. Hence the Sybils, and Pythonesses of Greece, the reverence shown to that sex by the Germans (Tac. de Mor. Germ., viii.) and Gauls, and as M. Ricard adds, the chivalrous spirit of later ages.

the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter with great solemnity, and the sacrifices which he offered were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the senate in this character, and made an offer of predicting for them future events, but they refused to hear her. She then betook herself to the women, and gave them a specimen of her art. She addressed herself more particularly to Marius' wife, at whose feet she happened to sit, when there was a combat of gladiators, and luckily told her which of them would prove victorious. Upon this she sent her to her husband, who received her with the utmost veneration, and provided her the litter in which she was generally carried. When she went to sacrifice, she wore a purple robe[30], lined with the same and buttoned up, and held in her hand a spear adorned with ribands and garlands. Upon viewing this pompous scene, many doubted whether Marius was really persuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be so and acted a part, while he showed the woman off in this gorgeous appearance[31].

But what Alexander of Myndos relates, concerning the vultures, is a real subject of astonishment. Two of them, it seems, well known by their brasen collars, always appeared and followed the army, previously to any great success. The soldiers, when they took them, had put these collars upon them, and then let them go. Thenceforth they knew, and in a manner saluted, the soldiers; and the soldiers, whenever these were seen upon their march, rejoiced

[30] 'Double-dyed,' which was sold (as Pliny, H. N. ix. 39, informs us) at a most exorbitant price.*

[31] The probability is, that he was at once both a hypocrite and a dupe. He was, certainly, extremely credulous in matters of superstition; and yet the subjoined story of the vultures, &c. like that of Sertorius' hind at a somewhat lower period, smells strongly of imposture. Plutarch himself, however, appears to entertain no suspicion upon the occasion; though the historian, whom he quotes as his authority, wrote professedly upon fabulous subjects.*

in the assurance of performing something extraordinary.

About this time, there happened many prodigies, most of them of the usual kind. But intelligence was brought from Ameria and Tudertum[32], cities in Italy, that one night there were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire, now waving about and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and that, one party giving way and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west. Much about the same period also, there arrived from Pessinus, Batabaces, the priest of [Cybele] the Mother of the gods, with an account that the goddess had declared from her sanctuary, "That the Romans were on the eve "of obtaining a signal and glorious victory." The senate gave credit to his report, and decreed the goddess a temple upon account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out to make the same declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius one of the tribunes prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the Rostrum. What followed, indeed, was the circumstance which contributed most to the credit of the prediction; for Aulus had scarcely dissolved the assembly and reached his own house, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact universally known and circulated.

Marius still keeping close, the Teutones attempted to force his entrenchments; but being received with a shower of darts from the camp, by which they lost a number of men, they resolved to march forward, concluding that they might pass the Alps in full security. They packed up therefore their baggage, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was, that the immensity of their numbers appeared

[32] *Hod.* Amelia and Todi. The appearance here mentioned was nothing more, probably, than a vivid Aurora Borealis. Pessinus, referred to below, was a city in Phrygia.*

in the clearest light, from the length of their train and the time which they took up in passing: for it is said, that though they moved on without intermission, they were six days in going by Marius' camp. They approached very near it indeed, and asked the Romans by way of insult, "Whether they had any "commands to their wives, for they should shortly "be with them?" As soon as the barbarians had all passed by, and were in full march, Marius likewise decamped and followed; always taking care to keep near them, and choosing strong places at some small distance for his camp, which he also fortified, in order that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they moved forward, till they came to Aquæ Sextiæ[33]; whence there is but a short march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of strength, but afforded little water. By this circumstance, they tell us, he wished to excite the soldiers to action; and when many of them complained of thirst, he pointed to a river which ran close by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That "thence they must purchase water with their blood." "Why then," said they, "do you not immediately "lead us thither, before our blood is quite parched "up?" To which he replied, in a softer tone, "Thither I will lead you; but, first, let us fortify "our camp."

The soldiers, though with some reluctance, obeyed. But the servants of the army, being in great want of water both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the stream, some with pick-axes, some with hatchets, and some with swords and javelins along with their pitchers; for they were resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These were, at first, encountered by only a

[33] So called from some warm baths in the neighbourhood, and it's founder Sextius. (See Suppl. Liv. lxi. 1, 3.) *Hod.* Aix in Provence.

small party of the enemy; for of the main body some having bathed were engaged at dinner, and others were still bathing, the country there abounding in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themselves in those delicious baths, and charmed with the sweetness of the place[34]. The cry of these brought others to their assistance, so that it was now difficult for Marius to restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the Ambrones to the number of thirty thousand, who were the best troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated Manlius and Cæpio, were drawn out and stood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themselves with eating, yet the wine which they had drunk had given them fresh spirits; and they advanced, not in a wild and disorderly manner, or with a confused and inarticulate noise, but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, and crying out, 'Ambrones! Ambrones[35]!' This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The Ligurians were the first of the Italians who moved against them; and when they heard the enemy cry 'Ambrones,' they echoed back the word, which was indeed their own ancient name. Thus the shout was often returned from one army to the other, before they charged; and the officers on both sides joining in it, and striv-

[34] A passage, how delightfully amplified by our English Pindar!

The prostrate South to the destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden fields:
With grim delight the brood of winter view
A brighter day, and heavens of azure hue;
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quaff the pendent vintage as it grows.

(Gray's Ethical Essay, 57.)

See not. (22.)*

[35] These national cries are not unusual among barbarous and semi-civilised combatants. The Russians, we are told, in modern times rush to the onset, crying out 'Owr! Owr!'*

ing, which should pronounce the word loudest, increased by this means the courage and impetuosity of their troops.

The Ambrones were now obliged to cross the river, and this broke their order; so that before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremost of them, and thus began the battle. The Romans came to support the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground pressed the enemy so hard, that they soon threw them into disorder. Many of them jostling each other on the banks of the river were slain there, and the river itself was filled with blood and carcases. Those who were got safely over, not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp[36] and carriages. There the women meeting them with swords and axes, and setting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives as well as the pursuers, the former as traitors and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman shields, caught at their swords with their naked hands, and obstinately suffered themselves to be hacked and hewed to pieces. Thus the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the river, rather by accident than from any design of the general.

The Romans, after having destroyed so many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of triumph, as might have been expected upon such success. There were no entertainments, no mirth in the tents, nor (what is the most agreeable circumstance to the soldier after victory) any refreshing sleep. The night was passed in the greatest dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the barbarians unconquered; and such of the Ambrones as had escaped,

This, Dacier observes, must have been the camp of the Teu[tones] (and his interpretation is, indeed, deducible from the context) for their own was on the other side of the river. Yet when, how, had the Teutones effected their passage?*

mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts mingled with menaces and lamentations. As this proceeded from such an innumerable host, the neighbouring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the sound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was irritated with dismay by the apprehensions of a tumultous night-engagement. The barbarians however did not attack them, either that night or the next day, but spent the time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage.

In the mean time Marius, observing the sloping hills and woody hollows that hung over the enemy's camp, despatched Claudius Marcellus with three thousand men to lie in ambush there till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The rest of his troops he ordered to sup, and go to rest in good time. Next morning as soon as it was light he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones, seeing this, could not contain themselves, nor stay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might engage them upon equal terms; but, arming hastily through thirst of vengeance, they advanced up to the hill. Marius sent officers throughout the whole army, with orders that they should stand still, and wait for the enemy. When the barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then to draw their swords, and pressing upon them with their shields push them with their whole force. For he knew the place was so slippery, that the enemy's blows could not have much weight; neither could they preserve any close order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poise. At the same time that he gave these directions, he was the first who set the example. For he was inferior to none in

personal agility, and in resolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans by their firmness and united charge kept the barbarians from ascending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremost battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmost confusion discovered itself in the rear. For Marcellus, who had watched his opportunity, as soon as he found (by the noise, which rose up to the hills where he lay) that the battle was begun, with great impetuosity and loud shouts fell upon the enemy's rear, and destroyed a considerable number of them. The hindmost being pushed upon those before, the whole army was soon thrown into disorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not stand the double shock, but forsook their ranks and fled[37]. The Romans pursuing either killed or took prisoners above a hundred thousand, and having made themselves masters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered a present to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompence, yet it was thought very inadequate to the generalship, which he had shown in that imminent danger[38].

Other historians give a different account, both of the disposition of the spoils, and the number of the slain. From these writers we learn, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones, which they found in the field; and that the rain which fell the following winter soaking in the moisture of the putrefied bodies, the ground was so enriched by it, that it produced the next season a prodigious crop[39]. Thus the opinion of Archilochus

[37] This victory was gaiued B. C. 101.

[38] And yet there does not appear any thing very extraordinary in the generalship of Marius upon this occasion. The ignorance and rashness of the barbarians did every thing in his favour. The Teutones lost the battle, as Hawley lost it at Falkirk, by attempting the hills.

[39] Horrid manure! and yet the same effect is said to have been produced at Fontenoi, the year after the celebrated battle fought

is confirmed, that "fields are fattened with blood." It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles: whether it be, that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above [40]; or that the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is generally liable to be affected and altered by the smallest cause.

After the battle, Marius selected from among the arms and other spoils such as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the most brilliant show in his triumph. The rest he piled together, and offered them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel; and he himself arrayed in his purple robe [41], and girt after the manner of the Romans, held a lighted torch. He had just lifted it with both hands toward heaven, and was going to set fire to the pile, when some friends were seen galloping up to him. Great silence and expectation followed. On their arrival, they leaped from their horses and saluted him the fifth time consul, delivering him letters to the same purpose. This added considerable joy to the solemnity, which the soldiers expressed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and, while the officers were presenting Marius with new crowns

at that place. Flanders indeed, in general, has been nearly one continued scene of bloodshed, and is one of the most fertile provinces in Europe. The inference is shockingly obvious.*

40 Here Dacier remarks, as singular, the notion entertained by the Heathens, that when the earth had been polluted by human crimes, it was to be purged with water from heaven: referring of course to the deluge, of which this might be a traditionary deduction.*

41 *Ipse Quirinali trabeâ, cinctuque Gabino*
Insignis. (Virg. Æn. vii. 612.) (L.)

The custom is traced by Servius to a sacrifice at Gabii, interrupted by an incursion of the enemy; when the inhabitants of that city tucked up their robes, and drove them back with great slaughter. The fashion was subsequently retained, as a favourable presage, in all sacrifices preceding declarations of war.*

of laurel, he set fire to the pile, and finished the sacrifice.

But whatever it is, that will not permit us to enjoy any great prosperity pure and unmixed, but checquers human life with a variety of good and evil; whether it be fortune, or some chastising deity, or necessity and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful solemnity, the sad intelligence was brought to Marius of what had befallen his collegue Catulus: an event which, like a cloud in the midst of a calm, brought fresh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempest. Catulus, who had the Cimbri to oppose, had come to a resolution to give up the defence of the heights, lest he should weaken himself by being obliged to subdivide his forces into many parts. He therefore descended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis[42]; where he blocked up the fords with strong fortifications on both sides, and threw a bridge over it: that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons beyond it, if the barbarians should make their way through the narrow passes of the mountains, and attempt to storm them. These latter held their enemies in such contempt, and came on with so much insolence, that rather to show their strength and their courage than out of any necessity, they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and, having pushed through the ice and the deep drifts to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them and so slid down, in spite of the broken rocks and vast slippery descents.

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. They then tore up the neighbouring hills like the giants of old, pulled up trees by the roots, broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge

[42] *Hod.* the Adige.

heaps of earth. These were to dam the current. Other bulky materials were thrown in, to force away the bridge; and these, being carried down the stream with great violence, beat against the timber and shook the foundation. At the sight of this, the Roman soldiers were struck with terror, and numbers of them quitted the camp and drew back. Upon this occasion Catulus, like an able and excellent general, evinced that he preferred the glory of his fellow-citizens to his own. For when he found that his men could not be persuaded to keep their post, but were basely deserting it, he ordered his eagle to be plucked up, and running to the foremost of the fugitives placed himself at their head; choosing that the disgrace should rather fall upon himself than his country, and that his soldiers should not seem to fly but to follow their general.

The barbarians now assaulted and took the fortress on the other side of the Athesis; but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them take an oath upon a brasen bull[43]. In the battle which ensued, this bull was found among the spoils, and is said to have been carried to Catulus' house as the first-fruits of the victory. The country being then without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Upon this, Marius was recalled. On his return, every one expected that he would have a triumph; and the senate readily passed a decree for that purpose. He declined it, however; whether it were that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger, of their part of the honour; or that, to cheer the people in the present extremity, he chose to deposit the glory of his former

[43] M. Ricard has amassed many particulars relative to the bull-worship of the Gauls, Chilperic, &c. &c.: but they would have little interest for an English reader.*

achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it restored to him with interest upon his next success. Having made an oration suitable to the time, he went to join Catulus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then sent for his army out of Gaul, and upon it's arrival crossed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, pretending that they expected the Teutones, and wondered at their delay; either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to appear so. For they punished those, who brought them an account of it, with stripes; and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities, sufficient both for themselves and for their brethren. When Marius inquired of the embassadors, "Who their brethren "were?" they told him, "The Teutones." The assembly burst into laughter, and Marius tauntingly replied, "Don't trouble yourselves about your bre-"thren; for they have land enough of our giving, "and they shall have it for ever." The embassadors perceiving the irony scurrilously assured him in reply, "That the Cimbri would chastise him imme-"diately, and the Teutones when they came up." "And they are not far off," said Marius; "it will "be very unkind in you, therefore, to go away "without saluting your brethren." At the same time, he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains: for had been taken by the Sequani, as they were avouring to escape across the Alps.

As soon as the embassadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had passed, they marched directly against Marius, who at that time lay still and kept within his trenches. It is reported, that upon this occasion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they had been accustomed to fasten the shaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now, letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out and a weak wooden peg put

in it's place. By this contrivance he intended that, when the javelin stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand right out; but that, the wooden peg breaking and the iron pin bending, the shaft of the weapon should drag upon the ground, while the point stuck fast in the shield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a small party of horse to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they should meet, and decide by arms to whom the country should belong. Marius answered, "That "the Romans never consulted their enemies when "to fight; but that he was nevertheless willing to "indulge the Cimbri in this respect." Accordingly, they agreed to fight the third day afterward; and that the plain of Vercellæ should be the field of battle, which was convenient for the Roman cavalry to act in, and for the barbarians to display their numbers.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces over-against each other. Catulus had under his command twenty thousand three hundred, and Marius thirty-two thousand men. The latter were stationed in the two wings, and Catulus was in the centre. Sylla, who was present in the battle, gives us the above account: and it is reported that Marius made this disposition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbric battalions with the wings only, and securing to himself and his soldiers the honour of the victory, before Catulus could have an opportunity of coming up to the charge; it being usual, in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by Catulus' defence of his own behaviour, in which he insisted much on Marius' malignant designs against him.

The Cimbric infantry marched out of their trenches without noise, and formed so as to have their flanks equal to their front; each side of the square extending to thirty furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of fifteen thousand, issued forth in great

splendour. Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts; upon these were fixed high plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breast-plates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts, to fight with at a distance; and, when they came hand to hand, they used broad and heavy swords. In this engagement, they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right endeavoured by little and little to enclose the enemy between them and their infantry, who were posted on the left. The Roman generals perceived the manœuvre, but were unable to restrain their own men; one of whom happening to cry out that the enemy fled, they all set off upon the pursuit. In the mean time, the barbarian foot came on like a vast sea. Marius, having purified his hands, lifted them toward heaven, and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; and Catulus, in the same posture, promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day[44]. As Marius was sacrificing upon this occasion, it is said that the entrails were no sooner shown to him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine."

When the battle however was joined, an accident happened, which (as Sylla states[45]) appeared intended by heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious dust it seems arose, which hid both armies. Marius, moving first to the charge, had the misfortune to miss the enemy; and, having passed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the mean while, the good fortune of Ca-

44 In conformity to this, as Dacier observes, it was dedicated, 'Fortunæ Hujus Diei.' (Plin. H. N. xxxiv. 8) The account of the battle which follows, and of its consequences, is horridly picturesque.*

45 It is a great misfortune that Catulus' History of his Consulship, commended by Cicero (Brut. xxxv) as resembling Xenophon in it's stile, and a still greater one, that Sylla's Commentaries are no longer extant. (L.) The latter have been alluded to above, and are again noticed in our author's Lives of Sylla and Lucullus.*

tulus directed the enemy to him, and it was to the lot of his legions (in which, Sylla tells us, he himself fought) that the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the sun which shone full in the faces of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Those barbarians, being bred in shady and frozen countries, could bear the severest cold, but were not proof against heat. Their bodies soon ran down with sweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold up their shields to screen their faces. The battle indeed was fought not long after the summer-solstice, and the Romans celebrate a festival in commemoration of it on the third day of the calends of August, then called Sextilis. The dust likewise, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans: for as they could have no distinct view of the vast numbers of their antagonists, they ran to the charge, and were involved in close engagement, before the sight of such multitudes could give them any impressions of terror. Besides, the Romans were so strengthened by labour and exercise, that not one of them was observed to sweat or be out of breath, notwithstanding the suffocating heat and violence of the encounter. So Catulus himself is said to have written, in commendation of his soldiers.

The greatest and best part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the spot; those who fought in the front fastened themselves together, by long cords run through their belts [46], to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where they found the most shocking spectacle. The women, standing in mourning by their carriages, killed those that fled; some their husbands, others their brothers, and others their fathers. They strangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them

[46] This was an absurd contrivance to keep their ranks; but they intended, also, to have bound their prisoners with the cords after the battle.

under the wheels and the horses' feet. Last of all, they killed themselves. They tell us of one, that was seen slung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men for want of trees tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on; that, by the starting of the beasts, they might be strangled or trodden to pieces. Yet, though they were thus industrious to destroy themselves, above sixty thousand were taken prisoners, and the killed were said to have been twice that number.

Marius' soldiers plundered the baggage; but the other spoils with the ensigns and trumpets, we are informed, were brought to Catulus' camp; and he availed himself chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory was his. A hot dispute, it seems, arose between his troops and those of Marius, which had the better claim; and the embassadors from Parma, who happened to be present, were chosen arbitrators. Catulus' soldiers led them to the field of battle to see the dead, and clearly proved that they had been killed by their javelins, because Catulus had taken care to have the shafts inscribed with his name. Nevertheless, the whole honour of the day was ascribed to Marius, on account of his former victory and his present authority. Nay, such was the applause of the populace, that they called him 'The Third Founder of Rome,' as having rescued her from a danger not less dreadful than that before incurred from the Gauls[47]. In their festive suppers at home, with their wives and children, they offered libations to him along with the gods[48], and would have conferred upon him exclusively the honour of both triumphs. But this he declined, and shared it with Catulus, being desirous to evince his moderation after such extraordinary instances of success. Or perhaps he was afraid of some opposition from

47 [illegible]he time of Camillus.
48 [illegible]imilar instances of profane devotion, see Hor. Od. IV. v. [illegible]

Catulus' soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his portion of the compliment.

In this manner his fifth consulate was passed. And now he aspired to a sixth, with more ardour than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never intended him. It is said that, in civil affairs and amidst the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. The intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or censure disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behaviour in the wars, and this proceeding was arraigned as contrary to law, he said, "The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst "the din of arms[49]." The noise however which he most dreaded, and which chiefly robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because Rome could not do without him; but, in the administration, he was sometimes in danger of losing the honours which he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude, and never scrupled to make his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By such means, he rendered himself obnoxious to all the patricians. But he was most afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus, from a spirit of true virtue, was

[49] The Latins had an adage, *Inter arma silent leges.* (Cic. Orat. pro. Milon., iv.)

naturally an enemy to those who endeavoured to gain the mob by dishonourable arts, and directed all their measures to that object. Marius, therefore, was very desirous to remove him out of the way. For this purpose he associated himself with Glaucias and Saturninus, two of the most daring and turbulent fellows in Rome, who had the indigent and seditious part of the populace at their command. By their assistance, he got several laws enacted; and having distributed many of his soldiers in the assemblies, his faction prevailed, and Metellus was overborne.

Rutilius[50], in other respects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced against Marius, informs us that he obtained his sixth consulate by large sums which he distributed among the tribes; and, having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his servant than his collegue. The people had never bestowed so many consulates upon any one man, except Valerius Corvinus[51]. And there was this difference, that between the first and sixth consulate of Corvinus elapsed an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his first, was carried through five more in succession by a single tide of fortune.

In the last of these, he exposed himself to much

[50] P. Rutilius Rufus was consul the year before the second consulship of Marius. He wrote his own Life in Latin, and a Roman History in Greek. Cicero mentions him, upon several occasions, as a man of honour and probity. He was exiled in consequence of having defended the Asiatic provincials from the exactions of the Roman farmers-general, six or seven years after this sixth consulship of Marius. Sylla would have re-called him, but he refused to return. (L.) Cicero says, he died of grief in consequence of his brother's having been refused the consulship. (Brut. xxix. xxx., De Orat. i. 53., Tusc. iv. 18.)*

[51] Valerius Corvinus was first elected consul, when he was only twenty-three years of age, A. U. C. 406; and for the sixth time, A. U. C. 452. (L.) About this latter date however, and consequently Plutarch's accuracy, as also whether Corvinus' dictatorship to his last consulate have not been confounded with it, there some doubts.*

hatred by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murther of Nonius, whom he slew because he was his competitor for the tribuneship. Saturninus, on his appointment to this office, proposed an Agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing, "That the senate should come and swear in full assembly to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing[52]." Marius in the senate pretended to declare against this clause, asserting that "He would "never take such an oath, and that he believed no "wise man would. For even supposing the law not "a pernicious one, it would be a disgrace to the "senate to be compelled to sanction a measure, "when they ought only to be influenced by choice "or persuasion."

These, however, were not his real sentiments; but he was laying a snare for Metellus, which he should not be able to escape. As for himself, he judged that the better part of virtue and prudence consisted in dissimulation, and therefore made but small account of his declaration in the senate. At the same time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmness, who with Pindar esteemed

Truth the spring of heroic virtue*,

he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to induce him to refuse it also; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable resentment of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus declaring that he would not take the oath, the senate

[52] Upon this subject there is an admirable passage in Cic. de Orat. i. 52, 53.*

* Pind. Fragm. by Schneider, p. 99.

Αρχα μεγαλας αρεΐας ανασσ' Αλαθεια,
Μη πταισης εμαν συνθεσιν τραχει
Ποτι ψευδει.

'These words, says Parr, very truly (in a passage, where for Marcellus read Metellus), might have been applied by Mr. Fox to his own political engagements.' (Character, ii. 530.)

was dismissed. A few days afterward, Saturninus summoned the fathers to appear in the Forum, and swear to that article; and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him; when bidding a long farewell to the fine things which he had uttered in the senate, he told the audience, "That he was "not so stiff-necked, as to pretend in one moment "to prejudge a matter of such importance; and "therefore he would take the oath, and keep the "law too, provided it was a law." This proviso he added, merely to give a colour to his impudence; and he was sworn immediately[53].

The people, charmed with his compliance, expressed their sense of it by loud acclamations; while the patricians were abashed, and held his double-dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated however by the people, they successively took the oath, till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to comply, rather than expose himself to the dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for nonjurors, did not shrink from the dignity of his resolution, or take the oath. That illustrious man abode by his principles: he was ready to suffer the greatest calamities, rather than do a dishonourable thing; and as he quitted the Forum, he said to those about him, "To "do a bad action is base: to do a good one, which "involves you in no danger, is nothing more than "common: but it is the property of a virtuous man "to do good ones, though he risks every thing by "doing them."

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that

[53] Thus Marius made the first step toward the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long afterward. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever the people should decree, whether bad or good, they ceased to have a weight in the scale, and the government became a democracy. And, as the people corruptly began to take the highest price offered them, absolute power advanced with hasty strides. A nation indeed, which has no principle of public virtue left, is not fit to be governed by any other.

the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use of fire and water[54], whom no man should admit into his house. And the meanest of the people, adhering to that party, were ready even to assassinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themselves on his side; but he would suffer no sedition upon his account. Instead of that, he adopted a prudent measure, which was to leave the city. "For (said he) either matters "will take a better turn, and the people will in that "case repent, and recal me; or, if they remain the same, it will be best to be at a distance from "Rome." What regard and what honours were paid to Metellus during his banishment, and how he spent his time at Rhodes in the study of philosophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his Life[55].

Marius was so highly obliged to Saturninus for this last piece of service, that he was forced to connive at him, though he now indulged in every act of insolence and outrage. He did not consider that he thus gave the reins to a destroying fury, who was making his way through blood to absolute power and the subversion of the state. All the while Marius was desirous to keep fair with the nobility; and at the same time to retain the good graces of the people; and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous or deceitful. One night, some of the first men in the state came to his house, and pressed him to declare against Saturninus; but at that very time he, unknown to them,

[54] This *aquæ et ignis interdictio* was a virtual banishment from Italy. The proscribed citizen was never forcibly expelled, but his goods were confiscated, and he was forbidden the use of the two elements considered as essential to existence. The two forms of banishment called *Deportatio* (in which the criminal, deprived of his whole property, was confined to some certain place for life) and *Relegatio*, in which his fortune remained untouched, and his exile was sometimes only temporary, were introduced by Augustus.*

[55] Whether or not Plutarch ever redeemed this pledge, is uncertain. It is not mentioned in the imperfect Catalogue of his works drawn up by his son Lamprias, nor any where quoted by other writers.*

let in Saturninus at another door. He then, pretending a disorder in his bowels, went from one party to the other; and this trick he played several times over, still exasperating each against the other. At last the senate and the equestrian order rose in a body, and expressed their indignation in such strong terms, that he was obliged to send a party of soldiers into the Forum to suppress the sedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the rest of the cabal fled into the Capitol. There they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail: they no sooner came down into the Forum, than they were all put to the sword[56]. He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, so that when the time for the election of censors came on, contrary to expectation he declined offering himself, and permitted others of less note to be chosen. But, though it was his fear of a repulse which made him sit still, he gave it another colour; pretending that he did not choose to render himself obnoxious to the people, by a severe inspection into their lives and manners.

After this, an edict was proposed for the recal of Metellus. Marius opposed it with all his power; but finding his endeavours fruitless, he gave up the point, and the people passed the bill with pleasure. Unable to bear the sight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering some sacrifices, which he had vowed to the Mother of the gods. But he had another reason, which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that in a state of in-

[56] The people, as Florus informs us, despatched them with clubs and stones. (iii. 16.)

action it's lustre began to fade. He, therefore, studied to raise new commotions. If he could but rouse and stir up the Asiatic kings, particularly Mithridates who seemed most inclined to quarrel, he hoped soon to be appointed general against him, and to have an opportunity of filling the city with new triumphs, as well as of enriching his own house with the spoils of Pontus and the wealth of it's monarch. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him in the politest and most respectful manner, he was not in the least mollified, but addressed him in the following terms: "Your business, Mithridates, is either to "render yourself more powerful than the Romans, "or to submit quietly to their commands." The king was perfectly amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of speech, which prevailed among the Romans, but this was the first time that he had experienced it.

On his return to Rome, he built a house near the Forum, either (as he stated) for the convenience of those who wished to wait upon him, or because he hoped to have a more numerous concourse of people at his gates. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, of which others were masters; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. At the preference given to others, however, he was not so much concerned, but Sylla's popularity afflicted him exceedingly; because Sylla was rising by means of the envy, which the patricians bore to himself, and had made his first step to the administration by a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus king of Numidia, now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the Capitol some figures of Victory adorned with trophies, and placed by their side a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla, Marius was almost distracted. He considered this as an act, by which Sylla sought to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared to de-

molish these monuments by force. Sylla, upon his part, as strenuously opposed him.

This sedition was just upon the point of flaming out, when the War of the Allies intervened[57], and put a stop to it. The most fierce and populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and had nearly subverted her empire. Their strength consisted not only in the weapons and valour of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were in no respect inferior to those of Rome.

This war, so remarkable for the number of it's battles and the variety of fortune by which it was characterised, added as much to Sylla's reputation as it subtracted from that of Marius. The latter seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions: whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour, for he was now above sixty-five years old; or that (as he himself said) his nerves being weak and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honour. He beat the enemy however in a considerable battle, in which he killed at least six thousand of them; and, throughout the whole, he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least exasperated by it. It is reported that when Pompedius[58] Silo, an officer of the highest eminence and authority among the allies, said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, "come down and fight us;" he answered, "If you "are a great general, Silo, make me come down "and fight." At another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties had retired, he called his soldiers toge-

[57] This was also called the Social or Marsian war, from the Marsians having been the first to revolt. It broke out B. C. 91, and was terminated by Sylla, B. C. 88. (Flor. iii. 18.)

[58] Not [illegible], as in the text. (Vell. Paterc. ii. 16.)

ther and made this short speech to them, "I know "not whether of the two to call the greater cow-"ards, the enemy or yourselves: for neither dare "they face your backs, nor you theirs." At last, pretending to be incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and several applications were made through the popular orators for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius and nominated him proconsul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided; some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bade Marius go to the warm baths of Baiæ for cure, since by his own confession he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. Marius, it seems, had a fine villa at Misenum[59], more luxuriously and effeminately furnished than became a man, who had been at the head of so many armies, and had directed so many campaigns. This house Cornelia is said to have purchased for seventy-five thousand drachmas; yet not long afterward, Lucius Lucullus gave for it five hundred thousand two hundred: to such a height did expense and luxury rise in the course of a few years.

Marius however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the Campus Martius; where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms and active on horseback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with this, and went to witness the spirit which he exerted in these exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a person who, though raised from poverty to opulence

[59] A promontory in Campania, so named (according to Virg. Æn. vi. 162.) from one of Æneas' companions, who was buried there.*

and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration which he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, as if he were in want of all things, was going at so advanced an age and after so many honours and triumphs to Cappadocia and the Euxine sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. For the reason which Marius assigned for this step, namely that he wished to train up his son to war under his own eye, was perfectly ridiculous.

The commonwealth had been sickly for some time, and her disorder now came to a crisis. Marius had found a fit instrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius, a man who in most respects admired and imitated Saturninus, but who considered him as having been too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined himself to commit no such error, he got six hundred men of the equestrian order about him as his guard, whom he called his 'Anti-senate.'

One day, while the consuls were holding an assembly of the people [(o)], Sulpitius came upon them with his assassins. The consuls immediately fled, but he seized the son of one of them, and killed him on the spot. Sylla [the other consul] was pursued, but escaped into the house of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when the pursuers were gone by, it is said that Marius himself let him out at a back-gate, whence he got safe to the camp. But Sylla, in his Commentaries, denies that he fled to Marius' house. He says, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wished him to pass against his will; that he was surrounded with drawn swords, and carried forcibly to that house; and that he was thence at last removed to the Forum, where he was

(o) Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were Consuls. It was the son of the latter who was slain.

compelled to revoke the order of vacation [61], which had been issued by him and his collegue.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, sent two tribunes to Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up to them the army. But Sylla, stimulating the indignation of his soldiers, led them, to the number of thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, directly against Rome. The tribunes, whom Marius had sent to demand the army of Sylla, they seized and cut to pieces. Marius on the other hand put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all slaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But there were only three, we are told, who accepted the offer. He could therefore, make but a slight resistance; Sylla soon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As soon as he quitted Rome, he was abandoned by those who had accompanied him. They all dispersed themselves, as they could; and, night coming on, he retired to a small house which he had near Rome called Salonium. Thence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide necessaries. He did not, however, wait for his return; but went down to Ostia, where a friend of his called Numerius had prepared him a ship, and there embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's son by a former husband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's estate, he hastened to collect such things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But before he had finished, he was overtaken by day-light, and nearly discovered by the enemy; for a party of horse had hurried thither, suspecting that Marius might be lurking in that neighbourhood. The bailiff, however, perceived them in time, and hid the young man in a cart-load of beans,

[61] If that order had not been revoked, no public business could have been done; consequently, Marius could not have been appointed to the command against Mithridates.

He then yoked his team, and driving by the party of horsemen passed onward to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who supplied him with some necessaries; and as soon as it grew dark he made for the sea, where finding a ship ready to sail for Africa he went on board, and passed over to that country.

In the mean time, his father, with a favourable gale, was coasting Italy. Being afraid however of falling into the hands of Geminius a leading man in Tarracina, who was his professed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were anxious to oblige him; but the wind shifting on a sudden and blowing hard from sea, they were afraid they should not be able to weather the storm. Besides, Marius was indisposed and sea-sick; they determined therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circæum. There, finding the tempest increase and their provisions beginning to fail, they went on shore, and wandered up and down they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by persons in deep perplexity: they shun the present as the greatest evil, and seek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the sea was the same: it was dangerous to meet with men; it was dangerous also not to meet with them, because of their extreme want of provisions. In the evening they passed a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them; but happening to know Marius, they desired he would immediately quit those parts, because they had just seen a number of horse upon that very spot, riding about in quest of him. He was now involved in all kinds of distress, and his attendants were ready to abandon him through hunger. In this exigency he turned out of the road, and threw himself into a thick wood, where he passed the night in great anxiety. Next day, sinking through want of refreshment, and willing to make use of the little strength he had before it quite forsook him, he moved down to the sea-side. As he went, he encouraged

his companions not to desert him, and earnestly entreated them to await the accomplishment of his last hope, for which upon the credit of some old prophecies he still reserved himself. He told them, that when he was very young and lived in the country, an eagle's nest fell into his lap with seven young ones in it. His parents, surprised at the sight, applied to the soothsayer; who answered, "That their "son would be the most illustrious of men, and that "he would seven times attain the highest office and "authority in his country."

According to some writers, this had actually happened to Marius; others are of opinion, that the persons who were then about him, and heard him relate it upon that as well as several other occasions during his exile, gave credit to it and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. For an eagle has not more than two young ones at a time. Nay, even Musæus is accused of a false assertion, when he says,

Three eggs she lays, two covers, hatches one[62].

However this may be, it is agreed on all hands that Marius, during his banishment and in the greatest extremities, frequently said, "He should certainly "come to a seventh consulship."

They were now not above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ[63], when they espied at a considerable distance a troop of horse making toward them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near them. They ran down therefore to the sea, with all their remaining speed and strength; and, when they had reached it, plunged in and swam to-

[62] Pliny likewise gives her three eggs, and sometimes even three eaglets; and Aristotle before him had quoted this very line of Musæus, without arraigning it's truth. (Hist. Anim. vi. 6.)*

[63] Minturnæ was a city of Campania, near the mouth of the Liris. *Hod.* Il Garigliano.

Ænaria, mentioned below, is the modern isle of Ischia.*

ward the ships. Granius gained one of them, and passed over to the island opposite called Ænaria. As for Marius, who was very heavy and unwieldy, he was sustained with much difficulty by two servants above the water, and lifted into the other ship. The party of horse had by this time reached the sea-side, whence they called to the ship's crew either to put ashore immediately, or else to throw Marius overboard, and then they might go where they pleased. Marius with tears implored them to save him; and the masters of the vessel, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions several times, resolved to make answer, "That they "would not deliver up Marius." Upon this, the soldiers rode off in a great rage; and the sailors, soon renouncing their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river Liris, where it overflows and forms a marsh; and advised Marius, who was much harassed, to go and refresh himself on shore till they could get a better wind. This they said would happen at a certain hour, when the breeze from the sea would fall, and that from the marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore; and he seated himself on the grass, little thinking of what was about to befal him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away; thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by all the world, he sat a good while upon the shore in silent stupefaction At length, recovering himself with much difficulty, he rose and walked in a disconsolate manner through those wild and devious places; till by scrambling over deep bogs, and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He immediately threw himself at his feet, and begged him "To save and shelter a man who, if he escaped "the present danger, would reward him far beyond "[illegible]pes." The cottager, whether he knew him

before, or was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him "His hut would be sufficient, if he wished "only to repose himself; but, if he was wandering "about to elude the search of his enemies, he would "hide him in a place much safer and more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him cower down in a hollow place near the river; where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds, and other light things, that would cover but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed by a tumultuous noise from the cottage. For Geminius had sent a number of men from Tarracina in pursuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy of the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and, having stripped himself, plunged into the bog amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered, than screened him. They hauled him out naked and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For proclamation had been made throughout all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death wherever he was found. The magistrates however thought proper to consider of it, and sent him under a guard to the house of Fannia. This woman was supposed, upon an old grudge, to bear a strong hatred to Marius. When she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, she had demanded her whole fortune, which was considerable; and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause was brought before Marius, who was then for the sixth time consul. On the trial it appeared, that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage, and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when he married her. Besides, he had lived with her a considerable time in the state of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune; and the wife, as a proper mark of

her disgrace, was sentenced to pay a fine of four chalci[64].

Fannia however, forgetful of female resentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmost of her power. He acknowledged her generosity, and at the same time expressed the greatest confidence. Of this an auspicious omen was the occasion: when he was conducted to her house, as he approached and the gate was opened, an ass came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal with a vivacity uncommon to it's species fixed it's eyes steadfastly upon Marius, then brayed aloud, and as it passed him skipped wantonly along. The conclusion, which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he should seek his safety by sea; it not being in consequence of any natural thirst, that the ass went to the fountain[65]. This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be secured, retired to rest.

The magistrates and council of Minturnæ, however, concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian (for both are mentioned in history) went up to him sword in hand, with an intent to despatch him. The chamber, in which he lay, was somewhat gloomy; and a light, they say, glanced from Marius' eyes upon the face of the assassin; while at the same time he heard a solemn voice saying, "Dost thou dare to "kill Marius?" Upon this the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill Marius." The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment; pity and remorse ensued. Should they put to death the preserver of Italy? Was it not

64 A small Grecian coin. Fannia seems to have been more grateful for the restoration of her fortune, than resentful for the imposition of the fine.*

65 All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was that the ass, like the sheep, is seldom seen to drink: (L.) And Marius must have been a very ass in superstition, to found upon such a circumstance such a conjecture.*

even a disgrace to them, that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let the exile go," said they, "and "await his destiny in some other region! It is time "that we should deprecate the anger of the gods, "for having refused to a poor naked wanderer the "common privileges of hospitality!" Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea-coast. Yet, in the midst of their officious expedition, they met with some delay. The Marician grove which they hold sacred, suffering nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way; and to go round it, would be tedious. At last an old man of the company cried out, that no place however religious was inaccessible or impermeable, if it could contribute to the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said this, than he took some of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The rest followed with the same alacrity; and when Marius came to the coast, he found a vessel provided for him by one Belæus. Some time afterward, he presented a picture representing this event to the temple of Marica[66]. When Marius set sail, the wind drove him to the island of Ænaria, where he found Granius and some other friends, and with them he departed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily near Eryx; where the Roman quæstor kept such strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and not fewer than sixteen of the watermen were killed. Thence he immediately sailed for the island

[66] Virgil mentions this nymph (Æn. vii. 167.)

——— *Et nymphâ genitum Laurente Maricâ.* (L.)

Upon which passage Servius remarks, that 'Marica was the tutelary goddess of the shore of Minturnæ, near the mouth of the Liris.' Some affirm, that Marica was the posthumous name of Circe, as Romulus and Leda after their deaths were called Quirinus and Nemesis. (Lactant. i. 21.) Hence Latinus, whom Virgil represents as 'sprung from Marica,' is by Hesiod called 'the son of Circe.' (Theog. 1011, 1013.) In the regulation likewise mentioned above, relative to the Marician grove, a sagacious critic may trace the effects of Circe's grief for the departure of Ulysses.*

of Meninx [67], where he first learned that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the succour of Hiempsal king of Numidia. This gave him some encouragement, and he immediately ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped something from his pity. He was just landed with a few of his men, when an officer came up and thus addressed him: "Marius, "the prætor Sextilius forbids you to set foot in Africa. "If you do not obey, he will support the senate's "decree, and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length the officer asked him, "What "answer he should carry back to the governor?" "Tell him," said the unfortunate man with a deep sigh, "that thou hast seen the exiled Marius sitting "upon the ruins of Carthage [68]." Thus, in the happiest manner in the world, he proposed as warnings to the prætor the fate of that city and his own.

In the mean time Hiempsal, king of Numidia, was unresolved how to act with respect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but whenever he desired leave to depart, he always found some pretence or other to detain him. At the same time, it was plain that these delays did not proceed from any intention of serving him. An accident, however, set him free. The young

[67] *Hod.* Zerbi, an island on the African coast, between Tripoli and Tunis.*

[68] There is not perhaps in the whole of Marius' life a nobler expression, or a greater proof of genius, than this saying. (L.) What an image does it present! Marius, who had been six times consul! Marius, who had been denominated 'The Third Founder of Rome!' Marius, whom the Romans, in their libations, had associated with their gods!—on the ruins of Carthage! Carthage, once so eminent wealth and power, as to have disputed with Rome herself in bloody wars the sceptre of the world!*

man was handsome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes; and pity soon turned to love. At first, he rejected the woman's advances: but when he saw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than gross, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means he escaped with his friends, and came to his father.

After the first salutations, as they walked along the shore, they saw two scorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius a bad omen; they went therefore on board a fishing-boat, and made for Cercina[69], an island not far distant from the continent. They were scarcely got out to sea, when they saw a party of the king's horse on full speed toward the place, where they had embarked; so that Marius thought he had never escaped a more imminent danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the consuls at Rome[70], and that they had had recourse to arms. Octavius having gained the advantage drove out Cinna, who was aiming at absolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula consul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war against them. Marius, upon this intelligence, determined to hasten to Cinna. He took with him some Maurusian horse which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, not amounting in the whole to above a thousand men, and with this handful he began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany called Telamon, and as soon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the slaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen likewise, and husbandmen and shepherds to the shore; the ablest of whom he en-

[69] *Hod.* Kerkeni I. near Zerbi, above mentioned.*

[70] A. U. C. 666. B. C. 88. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was against it.

listed, and had thus in a short time a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and disposed to govern agreeably to justice; but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war against the established government. Him he, therefore, resolved to join with all his forces. Accordingly, he sent to acquaint him that he considered him as consul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him proconsul, and sent him the fasces and other ensigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alleging that such pomp did not become his ruined fortunes. Instead of that, he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow as it had done from the day of his exile. He was now indeed upward of seventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly slow, This appearance was intended to excite compassion. Yet his native fierceness, and something more, might be distinguished amidst all this look of misery; and it was evident that he was not so much humbled, as exasperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had saluted Cinna, and made a speech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and soon changed the face of affairs. In the first place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their store-ships, and made himself master of the bread-corn. He next coasted along, and seized the sea-port towns. At last, Ostia itself was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, slew most of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge across the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any provisions to his enemies in Rome by sea. He then marched to Rome and posted himself upon the hill called the Janiculum.

Mean while, the cause did not suffer so much by Octavius' incapacity, as by his unseasonable attention to the laws. For, when many of his friends advised him to enfranchise the slaves, he replied,

"He would not grant to such persons the freedom "of that city, in defence of whose constitution he "had shut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the *son of that Metellus who had commanded in the African war, and was afterward banished by Marius, the army within the walls leaving Octavius applied to him as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding, that they should fight and conquer, when they had obtained an able and active general. Metellus however rejected their suit with indignation, and bade them go back to the consul; instead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the same time Metellus himself also withdrew, giving up the city for lost.

As for Octavius, he remained behind, at the persuasion of certain Chaldæan soothsayers and expositors of the Sibylline books, who promised him that all would be well. Octavius was, indeed, one of the most upright men among the Romans: he supported his dignity as consul, without giving any ear to flatterers, and regarded the laws and ancient usages of his country as rules never to be violated. Yet he had all the weakness of superstition, and spent more of his time with fortune-tellers and prognosticators, than with men of political or military abilities. Before Marius however entered the city, he was dragged from the tribunal, and slain by persons commissioned for that purpose; and a Chaldæan scheme, it is said, was found in his bosom as he lay. It seems unaccountable, that of two such generals as Marius and Octavius the one should be saved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination [71].

While affairs were in this posture, the senate assembled, and despatched some of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a request that they would

[71] And yet the mystery is in a great measure solved, if we consider that Octavius suffered himself to be guided by these wretched creatures, while Marius very probably made use of them in general to guide others. They were his engines, Octavius was theirs.*

come into the city, but spare the inhabitants. Cinna, as consul, received them sitting in his chair of state, and gave them an obliging answer. But Marius stood by the consul's chair, and spoke not a word. But the gloominess of his look, and the menacing expression of his eye too intelligibly declared that he would soon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forward to Rome. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard; while Marius, with a dissimulation dictated by his resentment, stopped at the gates. He said, "He was a "banished man, and the laws prohibited his return. "If his country wanted his service, she must repeal "the law which drove him into exile:" As if he had a real regard for the laws, or were approaching a city still in possession of it's liberty.

The people, therefore, were summoned for that purpose. But before three or four tribes had given their suffrages, he threw off the mask, and without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard selected from the slaves who had repaired to his standard. These he called his 'Bardiæans[72].' At the least word or sign given by Marius, they murthered all, whom he marked for destruction. So that when Ancharius a senator and a man of prætorian dignity saluted Marius, and he returned not the salutation, they stabbed him in his presence. After this, they considered themselves as authorised to kill any man, who saluted Marius in the streets, and was not spoken to or taken notice of: hence his very friends were seized with horror, whenever they went to pay their respects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall: it was satiated with blood. But the fury of Marius seemed rather to increase: his appetite for slaughter was sharpened by indul-

[72] M. de Thou conjectured that we should read 'Bardyetæ,' because there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name. Some MSS. have 'Ortianas.' Dacier's guesses are not very probable.

gence, and he went on destroying all, who gave him the least shadow of suspicion. Every road, every town, was full of assassins pursuing and hunting the unhappy victims.

Upon this occasion, it was found that no obligations of friendship, no rights of hospitality, can stand the shock of ill fortune. For there were very few, who did not betray those who had taken refuge in their houses. The slaves of Cornutus, therefore, deserve the highest admiration. They hid their master in the house, and took a dead body out of the street from among the slain, and hanged it by the neck: they then put a gold ring on the finger, and showed the corpse in that condition to Marius' executioners; after which, they dressed it for the funeral, and buried it as their master's body. No one suspected the matter; and Cornutus, after having been concealed as long as it was necessary, was conveyed by those servants into Galatia.

Mark Antony the orator[73] likewise found a faithful friend, but he did not save his life by it. This friend of his was in a low station of life. As he had one of the greatest men of Rome however under his roof, he entertained him in the best manner he could, and often sent to a neighbouring tavern for wine. The vintner, finding that the servant who fetched it, was critical in tasting the wine, and insisted on having better, asked him; "Why he was "not satisfied with the common new wine which "he used to have, but demanded the dearest and the "best?" The servant, in the simplicity of his heart, told him (as his friend and acquaintance) that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his master's house. As soon as he was gone, the perfidious and rascally vintner went himself to Marius, who was then at supper, and told him he could put Antony into his power; upon which Marius clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company and gone to the place himself,

[73] Grandfather to the triumvir of that name.*

had not he been dissuaded by his friends. He sent an officer however, named Annius, with some soldiers, and ordered him to bring Antony's head. When they came to the house, Annius stood at the door, while the soldiers mounted by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they saw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but such was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that far from laying hands upon him they stood motionless with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay Annius ascends, beholds Antony addressing the soldiers, and the soldiers confounded and softened by the force of his address. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakness, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catulus, Marius' collegue, who had jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that to every entreaty and intercession of his friends he invariably replied, "He must "die;" shut himself up in a narrow chamber, and suffocated himself by the steam of a large coal-fire. When the bodies were thrown out, and trampled upon in the streets, it was not pity which they excited; it was horror and dismay. But what shocked the people much more, was the conduct of the Bardiæans; who after they had murthered the masters of families, exposed the nakedness of their children, and indulged their passions with their wives. In short, their violence and their rapacity were beyond all restraint; till Cinna and Sertorius determined in council to fall upon them in their sleep, and slew them to a man.

At this time, the tide of affairs took a sudden turn. Intelligence was brought, that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war; and that, after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a short respite, a breathing from these inexpressible troubles; as the apprehensions of war had been universally prevalent. Marius was now chosen for the seventh time consul; and as he was walking out on the calends of January, the first day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus

to be seized and thrown down the Tarpeian rock; a circumstance, which occasioned an unhappy presage of approaching evils. The consul himself, worn out with a series of misfortunes and distress, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of battles and conflicts. For he considered that it was not an Octavius or a Merula, the desperate leaders of a small sedition, with whom he had to contend; but with Sylla, who had formerly driven him from his country, and had recently cooped up Mithridates near the coasts of the Euxine. Thus agitated, and revolving the miseries and flights and dangers which he had experienced both by land and sea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice seemed continually to pronounce in his ear;

Dread is the den, even of the distant lion.

Unable to support the painfulness of watching, he had recourse to the bottle, and indulged in excesses by no means suitable to his years. At last, when intelligence from sea was conveyed to him of Sylla's approach, his apprehensions were heightened to the greatest degree: and partly by his fear of the future, partly by the burthen and satiety of the present, under a slight trepidation of the balance he was thrown into a pleuritic fever; in which state Posidonius, the philosopher, informs us he found him, when he went to speak to him upon some affairs of his embassy. But Caius Piso[74] the historian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at supper, he gave them a short history of his life from it's commencement; and, after expatiating on the uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wise man to live in subjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, he bade farewell to

[74] There were many Roman writers of this name, but Vossius thinks the one here mentioned was the C. Calpurnius Piso, spoken of by Cicero in his Brutus, sect. 68; though he is there mentioned as an orator, and not as an historian. (Hist. Latt. i. 6.)*

his friends; and, betaking himself to his bed, died within seven days. There are some who impute his death to the excess of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium; insomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war against Mithridates, exhibiting all the various motions and attitudes, and uttering all the loud and characteristic expressions used in an engagement. Such was the strength and violence of his passion for that command!

Thus, at the age of seventy, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of a more-than-regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he desired.

Plato at the point of death congratulated himself, in the first place, that he had been born a man; next that he had the happiness of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian; and, last of all, that he was the contemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarsus likewise, a little before his death, passed in review the several advantages of his life, not forgetting even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling his accounts with fortune, he gratefully entered and preserved every favour in that excellent ledger-book of agreeable things, his memory. The negligent and unthinking gradually forget every blessing which they have received, record nothing, renounce for airy hope the solid subtance, and while they are idly grasping at the future, forego the enjoyment of the present! Though the future is in the power of fortune, and the present out of it, they despise her present blessings, as foreign to man, and dream of future uncertainties. But they are justly punished for it. Before philosophy and the cultivation of reason had laid a proper foundation for the management of extrinsic goods, they pursue and court them with avidity; but they can never gratify their insatiable cravings.

Marius died on the seventeenth day of his seventh

consulship. His death was productive of the greatest joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event which freed them from the worst of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an aged tyrant for one, who had youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the son of Marius to be, whose sanguinary spirit displayed itself in the destruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at first procured him the title of 'the Son of Mars,' but his subsequent conduct denominated him 'the Son of Venus.' When he was besieged in Præneste, and had tried every petty artifice to escape, he put an end to his life, to avoid falling into Sylla's hands.

PYRRHUS AND CAIUS MARIUS

COMPARED. †

IF from the lives and actions of these illustrious men, we proceed to draw their parallel, we shall discover in them strong traits of resemblance, and still stronger of dissimilitude. Pyrrhus was of royal extraction, and his lineage reached upward to the gods. Marius, the child of indigence, passed the chief part of his youth in obscurity. But nature compensated this difference in their natal fortunes by a more equal distribution of loftier qualities. Both owed to themselves their elevation, and were the sole artists of their own glory. In this respect, however, the Roman general appears preferable to the king of Epirus. The latter, it must be admitted, was exposed in his infancy to considerable danger: but he had the assistance of princes to replace him on the throne. At the age, at which he was tranquilly enjoying his regal dignity, Marius was still the

unknown inhabitant of a country-village; and from this dark abode he suddenly burst into a degree of military splendour, and civil honours, before unparalleled. Pyrrhus had the effectual aid of great alliances, to forward his designs: whereas Marius, in almost all his objects, had to struggle against a host of powerful competitors.

They both received an education exclusively military. That of Marius, rude and coarse, rendered him totally unfit for every thing but war. Pyrrhus, with a choice of pursuits, preferred the taste that led him to arms; and indulged, as a passion, what the other practised as a habit. The Greek discarded, the Roman despised, every thing elegant and refined. Hence the latter, in war courted for his talents, was in peace neglected for his austerity.

In nothing indeed were they more unlike each other, than in their moral characters. Pyrrhus, with an air calculated to inspire rather terror than respect, was soft, affable, and humane: seldom provoked, and easily pacified, he was backward to revenge, and munificent to reward. Marius, of a temper naturally bad and fierce, in power became terrible and untractable: passionate and vindictive to excess, he yielded to every impulse of resentment, and pertinaciously acted under it's impression. One of his most prominent features was ingratitude. Metellus, his first benefactor, he caused to be banished from Rome. From this reproach however Pyrrhus himself, in his treatment of the Sicilian cities, is not wholly free.

They had both a strong attachment to their soldiers, as the associates of their toils, and the instruments of their glory: but in Marius this attachment appears more visibly the result of a sense of interest; as his followers were not less useful to him by their suffrages in the Comitia, than by their services in the field. From avarice Pyrrhus was completely exempt: Marius, though he had amassed a more-than-royal fortune, was still insatiable; and one of his

principal motives for soliciting, at the age of seventy, the command against Mithridates, was his lust of gold.

To great austerity Marius united great arrogance, and great inflexibility; of these we have instances in his haughty treatment (when tribune) of one of the consuls, and the persevering insolence of his conduct toward the nobles, during his canvas for the consulship. His civil conduct, however, is not universally reprehensible. After having declared himself the zealous friend of the people, he strenuously and effectually opposed a popular bill, as prejudicial to the interests of the state. In general, with the exception of the case of Turpilius, whom he caused to be condemned as Metellus' friend, his early public decisions were rigorously just.

His sublime reply to the officer, who was sent to order him out of Africa; "Go, tell the governor, "thou hast seen the exiled Marius sitting upon the "ruins of Carthage," is too dignified for the guilty lips by which it was uttered. There is no single trait in Pyrrhus, comparable to this; but there are several of inferior splendour, which are conjunctively much more brilliant. His admiration of Fabricius' sturdy virtue, his magnificent offers to that general, his moderation on finding them disdainfully rejected, his generosity on learning his physician's treachery— all these prove a liberal disposition, and a lofty mind. His less creditable actions we must refer, not to his natural character, but to his intemperate thirst of glory. In him, however, this was a passion more easily to be accounted for, than in the low-born Marius. Ever forming vast projects, and cherishing extravagant expectations, he frequently abandoned what he possessed, to run after what he desired; occasionally, by a not unusual consequence, to the loss of both. His conversation with Cineas, prior to his Italian expedition, and his complaint with regard to the option of two great enterprises offered him by fortune, of which he chose the more hazardous as

the more honourable, evince his boundless ambition. In Marius however the passion, as less naturally excited by existing circumstances, appears to have been still more ungovernable. Relying solely on the energy of his character, from his very entrance upon his political career he solicited the successive offices of state with resistless importunity, and regarded each new function only as a step to higher appointments. Far from sinking under the unprecedented disgrace of being twice rejected in one day, he founded upon it an additional hauteur in urging his subsequent pretensions.

Pyrrhus, by his station, fortunately eluded the necessity of those humiliating condescensions, which the Romans exacted from all their candidates; but he was not, therefore, the less indelicate in his public transactions. Regulating his conduct by his interest, he murthered Neoptolemus at a sacrificial supper, availed himself of Demetrius' indisposition to invade his territories, deceived the Spartans by a gross piece of perfidy, and entered Argos after having given it's inhabitants a solemn pledge to the contrary. Of falsehood and duplicity, however, Marius was equally guilty. Associated with Glaucias and Saturninus, the wicked instruments of his ambition, and an accomplice in all their crimes; courting the public derision by exposing his unwieldly carcase, at an advanced age, in the active exercises of the Roman youth; proscribed and a vagabond, indebted (it would seem) to little less than miracles for his escape—on the first glimpse of hope he hastens back to Rome, takes possession, for the seventh time, of her consular chair, and deluges her streets with civil blood.

Both were superstitious; the dupes apparently of dreams, and omens, and old women. But in Marius, with whose uniform ferocity religious feeling, even in it's worst perversion, is hardly compatible, we may reasonably suspect the language he held upon this subject. His presages are, in general, en-

couraging; his prophetess announces victories. Pyrrhus, on the other hand, trusts these deluders to his ruin. A dream led him to the siege of Sparta, which he was obliged to raise with disgrace: and at Argos the recollection of a disastrous oracle destroyed his presence of mind, urged him to a precipitate retreat, and eventually occasioned his death.

At the head of their respective armies, they both displayed the accomplishments of consummate generals. In Pyrrhus, with uncommon strength and indefatigable perseverance were united restless activity of mind, and a degree of courage which incessantly hurried him into the midst of dangers. There, however, he retained all the coolness of his character, and profited as fully by his power of observation, as if he had been consciously invulnerable. Marius, naturally not less robust than Pyrrhus, and equally enured to hardships, with a power of suffering which no hardship could overcome; brawny, alert, and intrepid; in his very first campaign drew from Scipio a prognostic of his future greatness, which he ultimately verified, even beyond that discerning judge's high anticipation. This was particularly exemplified in the Cimbric tempest, when the people unanimously called him to the helm: and the two exterminating battles, which followed his judicious delay to engage, proved that it could not have been entrusted to an abler hand. But Pyrrhus' success in Italy must be admitted as an evidence of his superior generalship, when we consider that his antagonists were not like the Cimbri, an undisciplined rabble of barbarians; but, as well as those opposed to him in Macedon, at Sparta, and at Argos, the most experienced warriors of their day. It may be observed, however, in Marius' favour, that he never committed a single military fault: whereas Pyrrhus, by delaying to assault Sparta immediately upon his arrival, by continuing the siege after it had received strong reinforcements, and still more by his rash conduct at

Argos, exposed himself to the imputation of having incurred several fatal errors.

If the victories of the Roman chieftain were less gaudily brilliant than those of the Epirot prince, they were more substantially useful. The continual wars of Pyrrhus were usually fruitless to himself, and destructive to his subjects. Marius, on the other hand, quelled Jugurtha (next to Annibal, one of the most formidable enemies of his country), and rolled back the deluge of northern savages, which was about to burst into her fertile plains. Is there, in fact, any denomination in Pyrrhus' whole catalogue of titles, comparable to that of 'Third Founder of Rome?' And yet how dreadfully tarnished is this pure glory by the events of his closing life! Pyrrhus, it must be confessed, shed much blood; but it was not that of his countrymen. His subjects he uniformly treated with kindness; and neither in the infliction of punishment, nor in the pursuits of vengeance, was he harsh or inflexible. Happy for Marius, had he died after his triumph over the Cimbri; leaving behind him a name dear to Rome, and glorious to posterity! The civil war was the tomb even of his military renown.

Pyrrhus at his death, which he had provoked by his temerity, preserves all his courage and his dignity. His very glance, like that of Marius at Minturnæ, appals the soldier, whose arm is raised to destroy him The death of the latter in his bed may, to the superficial observer, appear of a more tranquil character: and yet if we view him, worn out with toils and haunted by remorse, expecting on the arrival of Sylla the retaliation of all his enormities; we can regard that bed in no other light than as a scaffold, upon which he is stretched for punishment. His crimes are his executioners; and he sinks under the agonies which they inflict, an object of detestation to the good, and of abhorrence even to himself!

THE

LIFE

OF

LYSANDER.

SUMMARY.

Lysander's statue in the temple of Delphi. His instruction, education, and character. He is appointed admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet in the Peloponnesian war: obtains from Cyrus an increase of the seamen's pay: gains a naval victory over the Athenians. His behaviour to Callicratidas, who is sent to supersede him. Callicratidas can obtain nothing from Cyrus. His death. Lysander is re-appointed to the command of the fleet. His perfidy at Miletus: little regard for oaths. Cyrus supplies him with money. His different expeditions. The Athenian fleet nears that of the Spartans. Lysander's conduct. Alcibiades' advice rejected by the Athenian admirals. Lysander's stratagem. He gains the victory. Prodigies, by which it was preceded. The Athenian prisoners executed. Lysander's treatment of the Greek cities. He wishes to besiege Athens, but is baffled by the vigorous defence of its inhabitants. Surrender of that city: demolition of its walls. Government of the Thirty Tyrants. Gylippus embezzles part of the money, which he is conveying to Lacedæmon. The Spartans deliberate, whether or not they shall receive it. Lysander's statue erected at Delphi: his honours, insolence, and cruelty. He is recalled: deceived by Pharnabazus; and applies for leave to visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Re-establishment of Athens. He assists Agesilaus to ascend the throne of Sparta; persuades him to make war upon the king of Persia, and accompanies him thither. Their mutual jealousy. Lysander's intrigues to change the constitution of Sparta. He forges some oracles: his project defeated by the cowardice of one

of his accomplices. He engages the Spartans in a war with the Thebans; takes the cities of Orchomenus and Lebadia; and is slain before the walls of Haliartus. His funeral. Oracles announcing his death. Regret of the Lacedæmonians. Detection of the plot, which he had concerted to get possession of the Spartan crown.

AMONG the sacred deposits of the Acanthians at Delphi, one has this inscription, 'Brasidas and the Acanthians took this from the Athenians [1].' Hence many are of opinion that the marble statue, which stands in the chapel of that nation just by the door, is the statue of Brasidas. But it is really that of Lysander, whom it perfectly represents with his hair at full growth [2] and a length of beard, both after the ancient fashion. It is not true indeed, as some would have it, that while the Argives cut their hair in sorrow for the loss of a great battle [3], the Lacedæmonians began to let theirs grow in the joy of success. Neither did they commence this custom when the Bacchiadæ [4] fled from Corinth to Lacedæmon, and made a disagreeable appearance with their shorn locks. But it is derived from the institution of Lycurgus, who is reported to have said, that "long

[1] Brasidas, when general of the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people of Acanthus to quit the Athenian interest, and to receive the Spartans into their city. In consequence of which, he joined with them in consecrating certain Athenian spoils to Apollo. This statue therefore was probably his, though Plutarch thinks otherwise. Acanthus was a Thracian city, near mount Athos. (Thucyd. iv. 84—88.)

[2] Why might not Brasidas, who was a Lacedæmonian, and a contemporary of Lysander, be represented with long hair as well as he?

[3] This was the opinion of Herodotus (i. 82, &c.), but without any foundation.

[4] The Bacchiadæ, descended from Bacchis, the son of Prumnis, had kept up an oligarchy in Corinth for two hundred years; but were at last expelled by Cypselus, one of their collateral kinsmen, who made himself absolute master there. (Herodot. v.)

" hair makes the handsome more beautiful, and the " ugly more terrible."

Aristoclitus [5], the father of Lysander, is said not to have been of the royal line, but to have descended from the Heraclidæ by another family. As for Lysander, he was bred up in poverty. No one conformed more freely to the Spartan discipline than he. He had a firm heart, above yielding to the charms of any pleasure, except that which results from the honour and success gained by heroic actions. And it was no fault at Sparta, for young men to be led by this sort of pleasure. There they choose to instil into their children an early passion for glory, and teach them to be much depressed by disgrace, as well as elated by praise. And he who is not affected and moved by these things, is despised as a mean-spirited wretch, unambitious of the improvements of virtue.

That love of fame then and jealousy of honour, which ever influenced Lysander, were imbibed in his education; and for them, consequently, nature deserves no blame. But the attention which he paid to the great, in a manner unbecoming a Spartan, and the ease with which he bore the insolence of power whenever his own interest was concerned, may be ascribed to his disposition. This complaisance, however, is considered by some as no small part of politics.

Aristotle somewhere [6] observes, that great genuises are generally of a melancholy turn, of which he gives instances in Socrates, Plato, and Hercules: and Lysander (he informs us) though not in his youth, was in his age inclined to it. But what is most peculiar in his character is, that though he bore poverty well himself and was never either conquered or corrupted by money, yet he filled Sparta with it and

[5] Pausanias calls him Aristocritus (vi. 3); and, elsewhese, Aristocrates (iii. 8.)

[6] Problem. sect. 30. One critic, by a specious conjecture, for Ἡρακλεῖς proposes to read Ἡράκλειτος, and the passage would thereby be rendered much more conformable to ancient fable.*

with the love of it too, and robbed her of the honour which she had previously derived from not honouring riches. For after the Athenian war he brought in an immense quantity of gold and silver, though he reserved no part of it for himself. And, when Dionysius the tyrant sent his daughters some rich Sicilian garments, he refused them; alleging, that "He was afraid those fine clothes would make them "look more homely." Being despatched however soon afterward as embassador to Dionysius, the tyrant offered him two vests, that he might take one of them for his daughter; upon which he said, "His daugh-"ter knew better how to choose than he," and so took them both.

As the Peloponnesian war was protracted to a considerable length, the Athenians, after their overthrow in Sicily, saw their fleets driven out of the sea and themselves upon the verge of ruin. But Alcibiades, on his return from banishment, applied himself to remedy this evil; and quickly made such a change, that they were once more equal in naval conflicts to the Lacedæmonians. Upon this the Lacedæmonians began to be afraid in their turn, and resolved to prosecute the war with double diligence; and as they saw it required an able general, as well as great preparations, they gave the command at sea to Lysander[7].

When he came to Ephesus, he found that city well inclined to the Lacedæmonians, but in a wretched condition as to it's internal policy, and in danger of falling into the barbarous manners of the Persians; because it was near Lydia, and the king's lieutenants frequently resided there for a considerable time. Lysander therefore, having fixed his quarters in it, ordered all his store-ships to be brought into it's harbour, and built a dock for his galleys. By these means he filled it's port with merchants, it's market

[7] Ol. xciii. 1., B. C. 408. Of the Athenian disasters in Sicily, the Lives of Alcibiades and Nicias supply us with ample details.*

with business, and it's houses and shops with money. So that from time, and from his services, Ephesus began to conceive hopes of that greatness and splendour, in which it now flourishes.

As soon as he heard that Cyrus the king's son was arrived at Sardis, he went thither to confer with him, and to acquaint him with the treachery of Tisaphernes. That viceroy had an order to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to destroy the naval force of the Athenians; but from his partiality to Alcibiades he acted with no vigour, and sent such poor supplies that the fleet was almost ruined. Cyrus was very glad to receive this charge against Tisaphernes, knowing him to be a man of bad character in general, and an enemy in particular to himself. By this and the rest of his conversation, but most of all by the respect and attention which he paid him, Lysander recommended himself to the young prince, and engaged him to prosecute the war. When the Lacedæmonian was going to take his leave, Cyrus desired him at an entertainment provided upon the occasion not to refuse the marks of his regard, but to ask some favour of him: "As you are so very kind to me," said Lysander, "I beg you would add an obolus to the "seamen's pay, so that instead of three oboli a day "they may have four." Cyrus, charmed with this generous answer, made him a present of ten thousand pieces of gold [8]. Lysander employed the money to increase his men's wages, and by this encouragement he in a short time almost emptied the enemy's ships. For great numbers came over to him, when they knew that they should have better pay; and those who remained became indolent and mutinous, and gave their officers continual trouble. But though Lysander had thus drained and weakened his adversaries, he was afraid to risk a naval engagement; knowing that Alcibiades not only was a commander of extraordinary abilities, but also had the advantage

[8] Darics, pieces of Persian coin, so called from the prince by whom they were originally struck, with the device of an archer.

in number of ships, and likewise had been successful in all the battles, which he had hitherto fought both by sea and land.

When Alcibiades however was gone from Samos to Phocæa[9], and had left the command of the fleet to his pilot Antiochus, the latter, with a view of insulting Lysander and making a parade of his own bravery, sailed to the harbour of Ephesus with only two galleys; where he hailed the Lacedæmonian fleet with much noise and laughter, and passed by in the most insolent manner. Lysander, resenting the affront, got a few of his ships under sail and gave him chase. But when he saw the Athenians advance to support Antiochus, he called up more of his galleys, and at last the action became general. Lysander gained the victory, took fifteen ships, and erected a trophy. Upon this the people of Athens, incensed at Alcibiades, deprived him of the command; and, as he found himself slighted also and censured by the army at Samos, he quitted it and withdrew to the Chersonese[10]. This battle, though not considerable in itself, was made so by Alcibiades' misfortunes.

Lysander now invited to Ephesus the boldest and most enterprising inhabitants of the Greek cities in Asia, and sowed among them the seeds of those aristocratical innovations, which subsequently sprang up. He encouraged them to enter into associations, and to turn their thoughts to politics; upon a promise that, when Athens was once subdued, the popular government in their cities likewise should be dissolved, and the administration vested in themselves. His actions gave them a confidence in his promise. For those, who were already attached to him by friendship or the rights of hospitality, he advanced to the highest honours and employments civil as well as military; not scrupling to join with them in any act of fraud or oppression, to satisfy their avarice. So that every

[9] An Ionian city, in Asia Minor, whose fugitives colonised Marseilles, B. C. 539.*

[10] That of Thrace, situated upon the Dardanelles.*

one endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Lysander: to him they paid their court, and upon him fixed their hearts; persuaded that nothing was too much for them to expect, so long as he had the management of affairs. Hence it was, that from the first they looked with an evil eye upon Callicratidas, who succeeded him in the command of the fleet; and though they subsequently found him the best and most upright of men, they were not satisfied with his conduct, which they thought had too much of the Doric[11] plainness and sincerity. It is true they admired Callicratidas' virtue, as they would the beauty of a hero's statue; but they sought in vain for the countenance, indulgence, and support, which they had experienced in Lysander; insomuch that, when he left them, they were quite dejected and burst into tears.

He took every method indeed, which he could devise, to strengthen their dislike to Callicratidas. He even sent back to Sardis the remainder of the money, which Cyrus had given him for the supply of the fleet, and bade his successor go and ask for it as he had done, or contrive some other means for the maintenance of his forces. And when he was upon the point of sailing, he made this declaration, "I "deliver to you a fleet, which is the mistress of the "seas." Callicratidas, wishing to show the insolence and vanity of his boast, said; "Why do not you "then take Samos on the left, and sail round to "Miletus, and deliver the fleet to me there? For "we need not be afraid of passing by our enemies in "that island, if we have the dominion of the seas." Lysander made only this superficial answer, "You

[11] Dacier interprets this of the Dorian music, and illustrates the passage by reference to the opinions of Socrates and Aristotle, both of whom pronounce the Doric a composed and manly tone. But the Doric manners had a simplicity in them, as well as their music. The modern editors of Amyot consider the allusion as made to the old laws of the Dorians, upon which Pindar pronounces a high encomium in his first Pythic ode.*

"command the ships, and not I;" and immediately set sail for Peloponnesus.

Callicratidas was left in extreme difficulties. For he had not brought money from home with him, and he was unwilling to draw contributions from the cities, which were already distressed. The only way left therefore was to go, as Lysander had done, and beg it of the king's lieutenants. And no one was more unfit for such an office, than a man of his free and great spirit; who thought any loss which Greeks might sustain from Greeks preferable to an abject attendance at the doors of barbarians, who had indeed a great deal of gold, but nothing else to boast of. Necessity, however, forced him into Lydia; where he went directly to Cyrus' palace, and bade the porters tell him that Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral, desired to speak with him. "Stranger," said one of the fellows, "Cyrus is not at leisure; he is drinking." "Very well," said Callicratidas with the utmost simplicity, "I will wait here till he has done." But when he found that these people considered him as a rustic, and only laughed at him, he went away. He came a second time, and could not gain admittance. And now he could bear it no longer, but returned to Ephesus, venting execrations against those who had first cringed to the barbarians, and thus taught them to be insolent on account of their wealth. At the same time he protested that, as soon as he got back to Sparta, he would use his most strenuous endeavours to reconcile the Greeks among themselves, and to make them formidable to the barbarians, instead of poorly petitioning those people for assistance against each other. But this Callicratidas, who had sentiments so worthy of a Spartan, and who in point of justice, magnanimity, and valour was equal to the best of the Greeks, fell soon afterward in a sea-fight at Arginusæ[12], where he lost the day.

[12] Near Lesbos. It was after this action, that the victorious Athenian generals were capitally convicted, for having neglected to burn their dead.

Affairs being now in a declining condition, the confederates sent an embassy to Sparta to desire that the command of the navy might be restored to Lysander, promising to support the cause with augmented vigour, if he had the direction of it. Cyrus, likewise, made a similar requisition. But as the law forbade the same person to be chosen admiral twice, and the Lacedæmonians were nevertheless anxious to oblige their allies, they vested a nominal command in one Aracus; while Lysander, under the title of lieutenant, had the whole power. His arrival was most agreeable to those who had, or who wished to have, the chief authority in the Asiatic cities; for he had long given them hopes that the democracy would be abolished, and the government devolve entirely upon themselves.

To those however who loved an open and generous mode of procedure, when they compared Lysander and Callicratidas, the former appeared only a man of craft and subtilty, directing his military operations by a set of shifty contrivances, and crying up justice for the advantages it brought; or otherwise deeming interest a first-rate consideration, and believing that nature had made no difference between truth and falsehood, but defined the value of each by its utility. When he was told, it did not become the descendents of Hercules to adopt such artful expedients, he turned it off with a jest, and said; "Where the lion's skin falls short, it must be "eked out with that of the fox."

There was a remarkable instance of this subtilty, in his behaviour at Miletus. His friends and others of his connexions at that place, who had promised to abolish the popular government and to drive out all it's partizans, had changed their minds, and reconciled themselves to their adversaries. In public he pretended to rejoice at the event, and to cement the union; but in private he loaded them with reproaches, and excited them to attack the commons. When however he knew the tumult was begun, he

entered the city in haste, and running up to the leaders of the sedition, gave them a severe reprimand, and threatened to punish them in an exemplary manner. At the same time, he desired the people to be perfectly easy, and to fear no farther disturbance while he was there. In all which he acted only like a cunning dissembler, to hinder the heads of the plebeian party from quitting the city, and to make sure of their being put to the sword. Accordingly there was not a man, that trusted to his honour, who did not lose his life.

There is a saying likewise of Lysander's recorded by Androclides, which shows the little regard he had for oaths: "Children," he said, "were to be "cheated with cockals, and men with oaths." In this, he followed the example of Polycrates of Samos; though it ill became the general of an army to imitate a tyrant, and was unworthy of a Lacedæmonian to hold the gods in a more contemptible light than even his enemies. For he, who over-reaches by a false oath [13], declares that he fears his enemy, but despises his God.

Cyrus, having sent for Lysander to Sardis, presented him with great sums and promised more. Nay, to prove how high he stood in his favour, he went so far as to assure him that, if his father would give him nothing, he would supply him out of his own fortune; and if every thing else failed, he would melt down the very throne, upon which he sat when he administered justice, and which was of solid gold and silver. And when he set off to attend his father in Media, he made over to him the tribute of the towns, and put the care of his whole province into his hands. At parting he embraced

[13] The reverence, invariably paid by the ancients to an oath, might raise a blush on some Christian cheeks. Hierocles' note on the second line of Pythagoras's Golden Verses is admirable. The worthless brother of Flaminius, mentioned (as the reader will remember) in the Life both of that general and of Cato the Censor, shrink from the probation of it's rigorous scrutiny.*

him, and entreated him not to engage the Athenians at sea before his return; because he intended to bring with him a large fleet out of Phœnicia and Cilicia.

After the departure of the prince Lysander not choosing to fight the enemy, who were equal to him in force, nor yet to lie idle with such a number of ships, cruised about and reduced some islands. Ægina and Salamis he pillaged; and thence sailed to Attica, where he waited on Agis, who had marched his land-forces down from Decelea to the coast, to show them what a powerful navy there was, giving them the command of the seas in a manner they could not have expected. Lysander however, observing the Athenians in chase of him, steered another way back through the islands to Asia. As he found the Hellespont unguarded, he attacked Lampsacus [14] by sea, while Thorax made an assault upon it by land; in consequence of which the city was taken, and the plunder given to the troops. In the mean time the Athenian fleet, which consisted of a hundred and twenty ships, had advanced to Eleus a city in the Chersonesus. There receiving intelligence that Lampsacus was lost, they sailed immediately to Sestos; where they took in provisions, and then proceeded to Ægos-Potamos. They were now just opposite the enemy, who still lay at anchor near Lampsacus. The Athenians were under the command of several officers, among whom Philocles was one; the same who had persuaded the people to pass a decree, that the prisoners of war should have their right thumbs cut off, that they might be disabled from handling a pike, but might still be serviceable at the oar.

For the present they all went to rest, in hopes of coming to an action the next day. But Lysander

[14] A city in Asia Minor, near the entrance of the Propontis, celebrated for it's wines. Decelea was an Attic fortress upon Mount Hymettus. Sestos was a city in the Thracian Chersonese, opposite to Abydus.

had a different design. He commanded the seamen and pilots to go on board, as if he intended to fight at break of day. These were to wait in silence for orders; the land-forces were to form on the shore, and watch the signal. At sun-rise the Athenians drew up in a line directly before the Lacedæmonians, and gave the challenge. Lysander however, though he had manned his ships over-night and stood facing the enemy, did not accept it. On the contrary, he sent orders by his pinnaces to the ships in the van not to stir, but to keep the line without making the least motion. In the evening, when the Athenians retired, he would not suffer a single man to land, till two or three galleys which he had sent to look out, returned with an account that the enemy were disembarked. Next morning they ranged themselves in the same manner, and the like was practised a day or two longer. This made the Athenians extremely confident; and they considered their adversaries as a dastardly set of men, who durst not quit their station.

In the mean time Alcibiades, who lived in a castle of his own in the Chersonese, rode to the Athenian camp, and represented to the generals two material errors which they had committed. The first was, that they had stationed their ships near a dangerous and naked shore; the other, that they were so far from Sestos, whence they were obliged to fetch all their provisions. He told them, it was their business to sail to the port of Sestos without loss of time; where they would be at a greater distance from the enemy, who were watching their opportunity with an army commanded by one man, and so well-disciplined that they would execute his orders upon the least signal. Such were the lessons, which he gave them, but they paid him no attention. Nay, Tydeus said, with an air of contempt, "You are not general now, but we*."

* See the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.

Alcibiades even suspected some treachery, and therefore withdrew.

On the fifth day, when the Athenians had offered battle, they returned, as usual, in a careless and disdainful manner. Upon this, Lysander detached some galleys to observe them; and ordered the officers, as soon as they saw the Athenians landed, to sail back as fast as possible, and when they were come half-way, to hoist a brasen shield at the head of each ship, as a signal for him to advance. He then sailed along the whole line, and gave instructions to the captains and pilots to have all their men in good orders, mariners as well as soldiers; and, when the signal was given, to push forward with the utmost vigour against the enemy. As soon therefore as the signal appeared, the trumpet sounded in the admiral-galley, the ships began to move on, and the land-forces hastened along the shore to seize the promontory. The space between the two continents in that place is fifteen furlongs, which was soon passed by the diligence and spirit of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the first who descried them from the land, and hastened to get his men on board. Sensible of the impending danger, some he commanded, some he entreated, and some he forced into the ships. But all his endeavours were in vain. His men not in the least expecting a surprise were dispersed up and down, in the market-place or in the fields, asleep in their tents, or preparing their dinners. All this was owing to the inexperience of their commanders, which had made them quite regardless of what might happen. The shouts and the noise of the enemy rushing on to the attack were now heard, when Conon fled with eight ships, and escaped to Evagoras king of Cyprus. The Peloponnesians fell upon the rest, took those which were empty, and disabled the others as the Athenians were embarking. Their soldiers, coming unarmed and in a straggling manner to defend the ships, perished in

the attempt, and those who fled were slain by that part of the enemy which had landed. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, and seized the whole fleet, except the sacred galley called Paralus[15], and those which had escaped with Conon. When he had fastened the captive galleys to his own, and plundered the camp, he returned to Lampsacus, accompanied with flutes and songs of triumph. This important action cost him but little blood; in one hour he terminated a long and tedious war[16], which had been diversified beyond all others by an incredible variety of events. This cruel struggle, which had occasioned so many battles, appeared in such different forms, produced so many vicissitudes of fortune, and destroyed more generals than all the wars of Greece put together, was terminated by the conduct and capacity of a single man. Some, therefore, deemed it the effect of a divine interposition. It was even asserted, that the stars of Castor and Pollux appeared on each side of the helm of Lysander's ship, when he first set out against the Athenians. Others thought that a stone, which according to the common opinion fell from heaven, was an omen of this overthrow. It fell at Ægos-Potamos, and was of a prodigious size: the people of the Chersonesus hold it in great veneration, and show it to this day[17]. Anaxagoras (it is said) had

[15] Upon the destination of this vessel the ancients are not fully agreed, but it was most probably employed to convey such things, as were necessary for the public shows and sacrifices. (See Suid. *in voc.* 'Paralus.') The Athenians had others likewise, differently named, for different purposes.*

[16] This war had lasted twenty-seven years; (B. C. 431—404) and has been recorded, the first twenty-one years by Thucydides, and the last six by Xenophon.*

[17] This victory was gained Ol. xciii. 1; B. C. 405. (L.) Like the celebrated Yorkshire stone, of which the Editor can safely speak from living very near the place where it made its appearance (in 1795), it bore marks of the action of fire; and like it gave rise to many conjectures, and much scepticism. Pliny seems to ridicule the story, Aristotle thinks it had been lifted up by a whirlwind and carried to the place where it fell, and M. Ricard suggests, as very

foretold[18] that one of those bodies, which are fixed to the vault of heaven, would one day be loosened by some shock or convulsion of the whole machine, and fall to the earth. For he taught, that the stars are not now in the places in which they were originally formed: that being of a stony substance and heavy, the light which they give is caused only by the reflexion and refraction of the æther; and that they are carried along and kept in their orbits by the rapid motion of the heavens, which from the beginning, when the cold ponderous bodies were separated from the rest, prevented them from falling.

But there is another and a more probable opinion, that falling stars are not emanations or detached parts of the elementary fire, which go out at the moment of their inflammation, nor yet a quantity of air bursting from some compression, and taking fire in the upper region; but that they are really heavenly bodies, which from some relaxation of the rapidity of their motion or by some irregular concussion are loosened and fall, not so much upon the habitable part of the globe as into the ocean, and that hence their substance is seldom seen.

Damachus[19] however, in his Treatise upon Religion, confirms the opinion of Anaxagoras. He relates, that for seventy-five days together before the fall of that stone there was seen in the heavens a large body of fire, like an inflamed cloud, not fixed to one place but carried this way and that with a

probable, that it never fell at all! But see a Memoir by M. Proust, Journ. Phys. LX. and the Comment in Retrosp. of Phil. &c. Discov. ii. 201. Also Izarn, *Des Pierres tombées du Ciel, ou Lithologie Atmospherique*, and Ed. Rev. vi. 386.—There were shown at Troy two massy lumps, to which (Homer informs us) Jupiter had once fastened Juno's feet.*

[18] As Pliny (N. H. xi. 58) affirms, sixty-two years before the event.*

[19] Not Damachus, but Daïmachus, of Platææ, a very fabulous writer, and wholly ignorant of the mathematics; in which however, as well as in history, he pretended to great knowledge. (L.) He has been previously quoted by Plutarch, in his parallel of Solon and Publicola.*

broken and irregular motion; and that by it's violent agitation several fiery fragments were forced from it, which were impelled in various directions, and darted with the celerity and brightness of so many falling stars. After this body had fallen in the Chersonese, and the inhabitants recovering from their terror assembled to look for it, they could not find any inflammable matter or the least sign of fire, but a real stone, which though large was as nothing compared with the size of the fiery globe they had seen in the sky, but appeared only like a bit crumbled from it. Damachus, obviously, requires very indulgent readers. If his account however be the true one, it absolutely refutes such as contend that this stone was nothing but a rock rent by a tempest from the top of a mountain, which after having been sustained and hurried for some time through the air by a whirlwind, fell in the first place where it's violence abated and ceased. Perhaps at last this phænomenon, as it continued for so many days, was a real globe of fire; which when it came to disperse and draw toward extinction, might cause such a change in the air and produce such a violent whirlwind, as tore the stone from it's native bed and dashed it on the plain. But these are investigations, which belong to writings of another nature.

When the three thousand Athenian prisoners were condemned by the council to die [10], Lysander called Philocles, one of the generals, and asked him what punishment he thought he deserved, for having given his citizens such cruel advice with respect to the Greeks. Philocles, undismayed by his misfortunes, replied; "Do not bring forward an impeachment, where there is no judge: but, now you are a conqueror, proceed as you would have been proceeded with, had you been conquered."

[10] By way of retaliation, as Xenophon (Hellen. ii.) informs us, for the severities, which the Athenians had previously practised upon some of their Spartan prisoners.*

After this, he bathed and dressed himself in a rich robe, and then led his countrymen to execution, being the first (according to Theophrastus) who offered his neck to the ax.

Lysander next visited the maritime towns; and ordered all the Athenians, whom he found in them, upon pain of death to repair to Athens. His design was, that the crowds forced into the city might quickly occasion a famine, and so prevent the trouble of a long siege, which must have been the case, if provisions had been plentiful. Wherever he came, he abolished the democratic and other forms of government, and set up a Lacedæmonian governor called 'Harmostes,' assisted by ten Archons, selected from the clubs which he established. These changes he made as he sailed about at his leisure, not only in the enemy's cities, but in those of his allies; and thus he, as it were, engrossed to himself the principality of all Greece. For in appointing governors he had no regard to family or opulence, but chose them from among those who were connected with himself by acquaintance or hospitality, and invested them with the full power of life and death. He even assisted in person at executions, and drove out all who opposed his favourites; thus giving the Greeks a very indifferent specimen of the Lacedæmonian government. Theopompus[21] therefore, the comic writer, was under a great mistake, when he compared the Lacedæmonians to vintners, who at first gave Greece a delightful draught of liberty, but subsequently dashed the wine with vinegar. The draught from the beginning was disagreeable and bitter; for Lysander not only took the administration out of the hands of the people, but composed his oligarchies of the boldest and most factious of the citizens.

When he had despatched this business, which did

[21] Muretus shows from a passage in Theodorus Metochites, that we should read here 'Theopompus the historian,' instead of 'Theopompus the comic writer.'

not occupy any long time, he sent messengers to Lacedæmon, with an account that he was returning with two hundred ships. He proceeded however to Attica, where he joined the kings Agis and Pausanias, in expectation of the immediate surrender of Athens. But, finding that the Athenians made a vigorous defence, he crossed over again to Asia. There he introduced the same alteration in the government of cities, and set up his decemvirate[22], after having sacrificed in each city a number of people, and forced others to quit their country. As for the Samians[23], he expelled them all, and delivered their towns to the persons whom they had banished. And when he had taken Sestos likewise out of the hands of the Athenians, he drove away the Sestians, and divided both the city and it's territory among his pilots and boatswains. This was the first step of his, which the Lacedæmonians disapproved: they annulled what he had done, and restored the Sestians to their country. But, in other respects, the Grecians were well satisfied with his conduct. They saw with pleasure the Æginetæ recovering their city, of which they had been long dispossessed, and the Melians and Scionæans re-established, while the Athenians were driven out, and constrained to relinquish their claims.

By this time, he was informed that Athens was greatly distressed with famine; upon which he sailed to the Piræus, and obliged the city to surrender at discretion. The Lacedæmonians say, that Lysander

[22] How strongly does this progress of Lysander through Greece, and in Asia, remind the reader of Buonaparte's conduct in his first invasion of Italy! 'What shall be the constitution of Genoa? A Directory and Two Councils. 'What of Mantua? A Directory and Two Councils. What again of Bologna? You are very tiresome; look into page —— of the Constitution of 1795: What does it say? A Directory and Two Councils.' ('Introd. to Intercepted Corresp. of the Egyptian Army of Buonaparte;' I. xiii.)

[23] These things did not happen in the order here stated. Samos was not taken, till a considerable time after the Long Walls of Athens were demolished. (Xenoph. Hellen. ii.)

wrote an account of it to the Ephori in these words, "Athens is taken;" to which they returned this answer, "'I have taken it,' is sufficient." But this was only an invention, to make the matter look more plausible. The real decree of the Ephori ran thus: "The Lacedæmonians have come to these resolutions: You shall pull down the Piræus and the Long Walls, quit all the cities of which you are possessed, and confine yourselves within the bounds of Attica. Upon these conditions you shall have peace, provided you pay what is reasonable, and restore the exiles[24]. As for the number of ships, which you are to retain, you must comply with our directions."

The Athenians, by the advice of Theramenes the son of Ancon[25], submitted to this decree. Upon this occasion (we are told) Cleomenes, one of the young orators, thus addressed him: "Dare you "contravene the sentiments of Themistocles, by "delivering up those walls to the Lacedæmonians, "which he built in defiance of their power." Theramenes answered, "Young man, I do not in the "least contravene Themistocles' sentiments; for he "built those walls for the preservation of the citi-"zens, and we for the same purpose demolish "them. If walls alone could make a city happy "and secure, Sparta, which has none, would be "the most unhappy place in the world."

After Lysander had taken from the Athenians all their ships except twelve, and their fortifications were delivered up to him, he entered their city on the sixteenth* of the month Munychion; the very day upon which they had overthrown the barbarians in the naval fight at Salamis. He presently set himself to change their form of government; and, ob-

[24] The Lacedæmonians knew that, if the Athenian exiles were restored, they would be friends and partisans of theirs; and, if they were not restored, they should have a pretext for distressing the Athenians whenever they pleased.

[25] Or Agnon.

serving that the people resented his proposal, he told them, "That they had violated the terms of "their capitulation; for their walls were still standing, after the time fixed for their demolition: and "that, since they had broken the first articles, they "must expect new ones from the council." Some say, he actually proposed in the council of the allies to reduce the Athenians to slavery; and that Erianthus, a Theban officer, gave it as his opinion that the city should be levelled with the ground, and the spot upon which it stood converted to pasturage.

Subsequently however, when the general officers met at an entertainment, a musician of Phocis happened to begin a chorus in the Electra of Euripides[26], the first lines of which are these;

> Electra I, of Agamemnon sprung,
> Approach thy straw-crown'd palace——

At this incident, the whole company were deeply moved, and could not help reflecting how barbarous a thing it would be, to rase and destroy that noble city, which had produced so many illustrious men. But Lysander, finding the Athenians wholely in his power, collected the musicians in the city, and having joined to them the band belonging to the camp, pulled down the walls and burned the ships to the sound of their instruments; while the confederates, crowned with flowers, danced and hailed the day, as the commencement of their liberty.

Immediately after this he changed the form of their government, appointing Thirty Archons in the city and ten in the Piræus, and placing a garrison in the citadel, the command of which he gave to a Spartan named Callibius. This Callibius, upon some occasion or other, lifted up his staff to strike Auto-

[26] It was the happy lot of this poet, upon another occasion, to preserve such of the Athenian captives, as could recite any part of his tragedies, from capital punishment, at Syracuse.*

lycus, a wrestler whom Xenophon has mentioned in his Symposiacs[27]; upon which Autolycus seized him by the legs, and threw him to the ground. Lysander, instead of resenting this, told Callibius by way of reprimand, "He knew not how to govern free-"men." The Thirty Tyrants however, in complaisance to Callibius, soon afterward put Autolycus to death. Lysander, when he had settled these affairs, sailed to Thrace[28]. As for the money remaining in his coffers, with the crowns and other presents, which were very considerable (as may well be imagined) since his power was so extensive and he was in a manner master of all Greece, he sent them to Lacedæmon by Gylippus, who had the chief command in Sicily. Gylippus (we are informed) opened the bags at the bottom, and took a considerable sum out of each, and then sewed them up again; little suspecting that in every bag was inclosed a note, giving an account of the sum which it contained. As soon as he arrived at Sparta he hid the money, which he had thus taken out, under the tiles of his house, and then delivered the bags to the Ephori with the seals entire. When opening them, and counting their contents, they of course found that the sums differed from the bills. At this they were not a little embarrassed, till a servant of Gylippus enigmatically told them, "a great number of "owls roosted in the Ceramicus[29]." Most of the

[27] The very entertainment, celebrated in that work, was given upon Autolycus' victory in the Pentathlum, by Callias one of his admirers; and Socrates was of the party.*

[28] Xenophon (ib.) says, he went now against Samos. Plutarch should have mentioned, in this place, the conquest of the isle of Thasos; and the cruel manner in which Lysander, contrary to his solemn promise, massacred such of the inhabitants, as had been in the interest of Athens. This is related by Polyænus, Strat. I. xlv. 1. But as Plutarch subsequently informs us, that he behaved in this manner to the Milesians, the story is probably the same, and there may be a mistake only in the names.

[29] Ceramicus was the name of a place near Athens (Pausan. i. 3.), where were buried all those who fell in battle. It likewise signifies 'the tiling of a house.'

coin at that time, out of respect to the Athenians, bore the impression of an owl.

Gylippus, having sullied his former great and glorious actions by so base and unworthy a deed, quitted Lacedæmon. Upon this occasion in particular the wisest among the Spartans observed the influence of money, which could corrupt not only the meanest but the most respectable citizens, and were therefore very warm in their censures of Lysander for having introduced it. They insisted likewise, that the Ephori should send off all the silver and gold, as evils destructive in proportion as they were alluring.

In pursuance of this a council was called, and a decree proposed by Sciraphidas, as Theopompus writes, or (according to Ephorus) by Phlogidas, "That no coin, whether of gold or silver, should be admitted into Sparta, but that they should use their current metal." This money was of iron dipped in vinegar, while it was red hot, to make it brittle and unmalleable, so that it might be rendered incapable of application to any other use. Besides, it was heavy and difficult of carriage, and a large quantity of it was but of little value. All the ancient money was perhaps of this kind, and consisted of pieces either of iron or of brass, which from their form were called Obelisci; whence we have still a quantity of small money called 'Oboli,' six of which make a drachma or 'handful,' these being as many as the hand can grasp.

The motion, for sending away the money, was opposed by Lysander's party; who procured a decree, that it should be considered as the public treasure, and that it should be a capital crime to convert any portion of it to private uses: as if Lycurgus had been afraid merely of the money, and not of the avarice which it produces. And avarice was not so much prevented by forbidding the use of money in the occasions of private persons, as it was encouraged by allowing it in those of the public;

for this added dignity to it's use, and excited strong desires for it's acquisition. It was not to be imagined indeed, that while it was valued in public, it would be despised in private; or that what they found so advantageous and acceptable to the state, would be regarded as of no concern to themselves. It is obvious, on the contrary, that customs depending upon national institutions much sooner affect the lives and manners of individuals, than the errors and vices of individuals corrupt a whole nation. For, when the whole is distempered, the individual parts must be equally affected; but, when the disorder subsists only in some particular parts, it may be corrected and remedied by those which have not yet received the infection. So that these magistrates, while they set guards (I mean, law and the fear of punishment) at the doors of the citizens to hinder the entrance of money, did not keep their minds unsmitten and untainted with the love of it; but rather inspired that love, by universally exhibiting wealth as a great and admirable thing. This conduct of theirs, however, we have censured in another place[30].

Lysander, out of the spoils which he had taken, erected at Delphi his own statue and those of his officers in brass: he also dedicated in gold the stars of Castor and Pollux, which disappeared[31] before the battle of Leuctra. The galley made of gold and ivory[32], which Cyrus sent in congratulation of his victory, and which was two cubits long, was placed in the treasury of Brasidas and the Acanthians. Alexandrides of Delphi writes[33], that Lysander de-

[30] See the Life of Lycurgus, Vol. I.

[31] They were stolen. Plutarch mentions it as an omen of the dreadful loss, which the Spartans were to suffer in that battle. (See, also, Cic. de Div. i 34.)

[32] In like manner Aristobulus, the Jewish prince, presented Pompey with a golden vineyard or garden, valued at five hundred talents. That vineyard was consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, as this galley was at Delphi.

[33] This Alexandrides, or rather Anaxandrides, wrote an Account of the Offerings stolen from the temple at Delphi.

posited there a talent of silver, fifty-two minæ, and eleven staters; but this does not correspond with the accounts of his poverty, which we have from all historians.

Though Lysander had now attained greater power than any Grecian before him, yet it was exceeded by the pride and loftiness of his heart. For he was the first of the Grecians (according to Duris)[34] to whom altars were erected by several cities, and sacrifices offered, as to a god. To Lysander two hymns were first sung, one of which began thus:

> To the famed chief of Greece let triumph's strain,
> Loud 'Io pæans' raise from Sparta's plain!

Nay, the Samians[35] decreed that the feasts, which they had been accustomed to celebrate in honour of Juno, should be called 'the feasts of Lysander.' He always kept the Spartan poet Chœrilus in his retinue[36], that he might be ready to add lustre to his actions by the power of verse. And when Antilochus had written some stanzas in his praise, he was so delighted, that he gave him his hatful of silver. Antimachus of Colophon[37] and Niceratus of Hera-

[34] For some account of this historian, see the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. and not. (58.) and of Alcibiades, ib. and not. (82.)

[35] They must have worshipped him, as the Indians do the devil, that he might do them no more hurt: that after one dreadful sacrifice to his cruelty, he might seek no more.

[36] There were three poets of this name (an unlucky name in poetry! See Hor. A.P. 357) who flourished at intervals of about seventy years; but their works, perhaps fortunately, are all lost. The first, who was of Samos, sung the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes, for which he received a stater *per* verse, and was honoured by a decree, enacting that his poem should be recited along with those of Homer: he flourished about Ol. lxxv. The second was this of Sparta; and the third attended Alexander the Great. Vossius mentions one prior to all these, a tragic writer of Athens, who lived in Ol. lxiv., composed a hundred and fifty dramatic works, was thirteen times crowned as victor, and (according to Suidas) invented masks, &c.*

[37] Or Claros, a neighbouring city in Ionia. This poet, though occasionally turgid and verbose in his compositions, was considered as next to Homer in heroic verse; and Adrian even went so far, as to endeavour to set the latter aside in his favour.*

clea composed each a panegyric which bore his name, and contested in form for the prize. He adjudged the crown to Niceratus, at which Antimachus was so much offended, that he suppressed his poem. Plato, who was then very young, and a warm admirer of Antimachus' poetry, addressed him while under his chagrin, and told him, by way of consolation, "That "the ignorant are sufferers by their ignorance, as "the blind are by their want of sight." Aristonoüs the lyrist, who had six times won the prize at the Pythian games, in order to pay his court to Lysander promised him that, if he were once more victorious, he would declare himself his retainer, or even his slave.

Lysander's ambition was a burthen only to the great, and to persons of equal rank with himself. But the arrogance and violence implanted in his temper along with his ambition by the flatteries, with which he was besieged, had a more extensive influence. He set no moderate bounds either to his regard, or to his resentment. Governments unlimited and unexamined authorities were the rewards of any friendship or hospitality, which he had experienced, and the sole punishment which could appease his anger was the death of his enemy; nor was there any way to escape.

Of this, an instance occurred at Miletus. He was afraid, that the leaders of the plebeian party there would secure themselves by flight; and therefore, with a view of drawing them from their retreats, he took an oath not to do any of them the least injury. Relying upon his assurance, they made their appearance; when he immediately delivered them, to the number of eight hundred, to the opposite party, and they were put to death. Infinite were the cruelties, which he exercised in every city, against such as were suspected of any inclination to popular government. For he not only consulted his own passions, and gratified his own revenge, but co-operated in these respects with the resentments and avarice of

all his friends. Hence, the saying of Eteocles the Lacedæmonian was reckoned a good one, "That "Greece could not bear two Lysanders." Theophrastus indeed informs us, that Archistratus[38] had said the same thing of Alcibiades. But of Alcibiades' character, insolence, luxury, and vanity were the most disagreeable part; whereas the power of Lysander was attended with a cruelty and savageness of manners, which rendered it insupportable.

There were many complaints against him, to which the Lacedæmonians paid no regard. When Pharnabazus however despatched embassadors to Sparta, to represent the injury which he had received from the depredations committed in his province, the Ephori were incensed and put Thorax one of his friends and collegues to death, having found silver in his possession contrary to the late law. They likewise ordered Lysander home by their Scytale, the nature and use of which was as follows: Whenever the magistrates sent out an admiral or a general, they prepared two round pieces of wood with so much exactness, that they were perfectly equal both in length and thickness. One of these they retained themselves, and the other was delivered to the officer then employed. These pieces of wood were called 'Scytalæ.' When they had any secret and important orders to convey to him, they took a long narrow scroll of parchment and rolled it about their own staff, one fold close to another, and then wrote upon it their commands. This done, they took off the scroll, and sent it to the general. As soon as he received it, he applied it to his staff; which being just like that of the magistrates, all the folds fell in with one another, exactly as they had done at the writing: and though previously the characters were so broken and disjointed, that nothing could be made of them, they now became plain and legible. The

[38] It should be read Archestratus. See the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.

parchment, like the staff, is called 'Scytale;' as the thing measured bears the name of the measure.

Lysander, who was then in the Hellespont, was much alarmed at the Scytale. Pharnabazus being the person whose accusation he most dreaded, he hastened to an interview with him, in hopes of being able to compose their differences. When they met, he desired him to send another account to the magistrates, signifying that he had neither suffered any injury, nor made any complaint. He was not aware (as the proverb has it) that 'He was playing the Cretan with a Cretan[39].' Pharnabazus promised to comply with his request, and wrote a letter in his presence agreeable to his directions, but had contrived to have a second along with him of a quite contrary purport. When the letter was to be sealed, he palmed that upon him which he had privately written, and which exactly resembled the other. Lysander upon his arrival at Lacedæmon went according to custom to the senate-house, and delivered Pharnabazus' letter to the magistrates, assuring himself that the heaviest charge was removed. For he knew that the Lacedæmonians paid a particular attention to Pharnabazus, because of all the king's lieutenants he had rendered them the greatest services in the war. When the Ephori had read the letter, they showed it to Lysander. He now found to his cost, that

Others have art beside Ulysses[40],

and in the utmost confusion left the senate-house.

A few days afterward he applied to the magistrates, and informed them that he was obliged to visit the

[39] This proverb has already been quoted and explained, in the Life of Paulus Æmilius, Vol. II. not. (69.)

[40] This Iambic verse is apparently quoted from some tragic writer, and probably (as M. Ricard plausibly suggests) from the Palamedes of Euripides. Palamedes detected Ulysses' artifice, when he counterfeited the madman, in order to avoid going to the siege of Troy.*

temple of Jupiter Ammon, and offer the sacrifices, which he had vowed before his battles. Some say that, when he was besieging the city of the Aphygæans in Thrace, Ammon actually appeared to him in a dream[41], and ordered him to raise the siege: that he complied with the order, and bade the Aphygæans sacrifice to Ammon; and, for the same reason, was now anxious himself to pay his devotions in Lybia to that deity. But it was generally believed, that he only used the deity as a pretext, and that the true reason of his retiring was his fear of the Ephori, and his abhorrence of subjection. He chose rather to roam and wander in foreign countries, than to be controlled at home. His haughty spirit was like that of a horse, which has long ranged the pastures at liberty, and returns with reluctance to the stall and to his former burthen. The reason, which Ephorus assigns for this voyage, I shall mention by and by.

With much difficulty he obtained leave of the Ephori to depart, and took his voyage. While he was upon it, the kings considered, that it was by means of the associations which he had formed, that he held the cities in subjection and was in effect master of all Greece. They resolved therefore to drive out his friends, and re-establish the popular governments. This occasioned new commotions. First of all, the Athenians from the castle of Phyle[42] attacked the Thirty Tyrants, and defeated them. Immediately upon this Lysander returned, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to support the oligarchies, and to chastise the people; in consequence of which, they remitted a hundred talents to the Tyrants, to enable them to carry on the war, and appointed Lysander himself their general. But the envy by which the kings were actuated, and their fear that he would

[41] See Pausan. iii. 28.*

[42] A castle above Athens, remarkable for the strength of it's situation. Xenophon often mentions it, Hellen. ii. Thrasybulus was at the head of this party of exiles.

a second time take Athens, led them to determine that one of them should attend the expedition. Accordingly Pausanias marched into Attica, in appearance to support the Thirty Tyrants against the people, but in reality to put an end to the war, lest Lysander by his interest in Athens should again become master of it. This he easily effected. By reconciling the Athenians among themselves, and composing their tumults, he frustrated Lysander's ambition. Yet as the Athenians revolted soon afterward, Pausanias was blamed for having removed the curb of the oligarchy out of the mouth of the people, and suffered them to recover their former insolence and audacity. On the contrary, it added to Lysander's reputation: he was now considered as a man, who took not his measures either through favour or ostentation, but in all his operations kept a steady eye upon the interests of Sparta.

Lysander indeed had a ferocity in his expressions, as well as in his actions, which confounded his adversaries. When the Argives had a dispute with him about their boundaries, and thought their plea better than that of the Lacedæmonians, he showed them his sword, and said; "He, who is master of "this, can best plead about boundaries."

When a citizen of Megara treated him with great freedom in conversation, he said, "My friend, those "words of thine should proceed only from strong "bulwarks."

The Bœotians hesitating upon some propositions, which he had made to them, he asked them, "Whe"ther he should trail, or push his pikes among "them?"

The Corinthians having deserted the league, he advanced up to their walls; but the Lacedæmonians, he found, were very loth to begin the assault. A hare just then happening to start out of the trenches, "Are you not ashamed," he cried, "to dread those "enemies, who are so idle that the very hares sit in "quiet under their walls?"

When king Agis died, he left behind him a brother named Agesilaus, and a reputed son named Leotychidas. Lysander, who had an extraordinary regard for Agesilaus, persuaded him to lay claim to the crown as a genuine descendent of Hercules; whereas Leotychidas was suspected to be the son of Alcibiades, the fruit of a private commerce, which he had had with Timæa the wife of Agis during his exile in Sparta. Agis (we are told) from his computation of the time, concluded that the child was not his, and therefore took no notice of him, but rather openly disavowed him throughout his whole life. When he fell sick however, and was carried to Heræa[43], he was prevailed upon by the entreaties of the youth himself and of his friends, before he died, to declare before many witnesses that he was his lawful son. At the same time, he desired all persons present to testify these his last words to the Lacedæmonians, and immediately expired.

Accordingly, they gave their testimony in favour of Leotychidas. As for Agesilaus, he was a man of uncommon merit, and supported besides by the interest of Lysander: but his affairs were nearly ruined by Diopithes, a famous interpreter of oracles, who applied this prophecy to his lameness:

> Illustrious, Sparta, as thou art, beware
> Lest a lame government thy strength impair[44]:
> Woes unforeseen shall be thy certain doom,
> And war's strong tide shall whelm thee in the tomb.

[43] Xenophon (Hellen. iii.) informs us that Agis fell sick at Heræa, a city of Arcadia, on his way from Delphi, and that he was carried to Sparta, and died there. His suspicions of the legitimacy of Leotychidas are recorded, likewise, in the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.

[44] The oracle considered the two kings of Sparta, as it's two legs, the supports of it's freedom; which in fact they were, by being a check upon each other. The Lacedæmonians were therefore admonished to beware of a 'lame government,' of having their republic converted into a monarchy; which, indeed, eventually proved their ruin. (Justin. vi.) These lines are again quoted in the beginning of the Life of Agesilaus, where the ensuing conversation between Lysander and that chieftain is likewise to be found.

Many believed this interpretation, and were turning to Leotychidas. But Lysander observed, that Diopithes had mistaken the sense of the oracle; for that the deity did not give himself any concern about their being governed by 'a lame king,' but meant that their government would be lame, if spurious persons should wear the crown among the race of Hercules. Thus, partly by his address, and partly by his interest, he prevailed upon them to give the preference to Agesilaus, who was accordingly declared king.

Lysander immediately pressed him to carry the war into Asia, encouraging him with the hope of destroying the Persian monarchy, and becoming himself the most illustrious of mankind. He likewise instructed his friends in Asia, to entreat that the Lacedæmonians would give Agesilaus the conduct of the war against the barbarians. They complied with his request, and despatched embassadors to Lacedæmon for that purpose. This command indeed, which Lysander procured for Agesilaus, seems to have been an honour equal to the crown itself. But ambitious spirits, though in other respects not unfit for affairs of state, are shut out from many great actions by the envy, which they bear their fellow-candidates for fame. For thus they make those their adversaries, who would otherwise have been their assistants in deeds of glory.

Agesilaus took Lysander with him, made him one of his thirty counsellors, and gave him the first rank in his friendship. But when they came into Asia, Agesilaus found that the people, being unacquainted with him, seldom applied to him and were very brief in their addresses; whereas Lysander, whom they had long known, had them always at his gates or in his train, some attending out of friendship and others out of apprehension. Just as it happens in tragedies, that a principal actor represents a messenger or a servant, and is admired in that character, while he who bears the diadem and sceptre is hardly listened to, when he speaks; so in this case the counsellor

engrossed all the honour, and the king had only the barren *title* of commander-in-chief.

Doubtless this unseasonable ambition of Lysander deserved correction, and he was to be made to know that the second place only belonged to him. But entirely to cast off a friend and benefactor, and from a jealousy of honour to expose him to scorn, was a step unworthy the character of Agesilaus. He began with taking business out of his hands, and making it a point not to employ him upon any occasion where he might distinguish himself. In the next place, those for whom Lysander interested himself were sure to miscarry, and to meet with less indulgence than others of the meanest station. Thus the king gradually undermined and enfeebled his power.

When Lysander found that he failed in all his applications, and that his kindness was only a hindrance to his friends, he desired them to forbear their addresses to him, and to wait only upon the king or the present dispensers of his favours. In consequence of this, they gave him no farther trouble about business, but still continued their attentions, and joined him in the public walks and other places of resort. This caused Agesilaus more pain than ever, and his envy and jealousy continually increased; insomuch that, while he bestowed commands and governments upon common soldiers, he appointed Lysander his carver. Then, to insult the Ionians, he bade them "go and make their court to his "carver."

Upon this, Lysander determined to come to an explanation with him, and their dialogue was extremely laconic: "Truly, Agesilaus, you know very "well how to tread upon your friends." "Yes," said he, "when they seek to be greater than myself. "It is but fit that those, who are willing to advance "my power, should share it." "This is rather "perhaps," said Lysander, "an assertion of yours, "than an action of mine. I beg of you however,

" for the sake of strangers who have their eyes upon " us, that you will put me in some post, where I " may be least obnoxious and most useful to you."

Agreeably to this request, the lieutenancy of the Hellespont was granted him; and, though he still retained his resentment against Agesilaus, he did not neglect his duty. He found Spithridates[45], a Persian remarkable for his valour, and with an army at his command, at variance with Pharnabazus, and persuaded him to revolt to Agesilaus. This was the only service, upon which he was employed; and when his commission was expired, he returned to Sparta in disgrace, highly incensed against Agesilaus, and more displeased than ever with the whole frame of government. He resolved therefore, without any farther loss of time, to bring about the change, which he had long meditated in the constitution.

When the Heraclidæ mixed with the Dorians, and settled in Peloponnesus, there was a large and flourishing tribe of them at Sparta. The whole however were not entitled to the regal succession, but only two families, the Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ, while the rest derived no share in the administration from their high birth; for, as to the common rewards of virtue, they were open to all men of distinguished merit. Lysander, who was of this lineage, no sooner saw himself exalted by his achievements and supported with friends and power, than he became uneasy to think that a city, which owed it's grandeur to his exertions, should be ruled by others no better descended than himself. Hence he projected a plan of altering the settlement, which confined the succession to the above two families, and of laying it open to all the Heraclidæ. Some say, his intention was to extend this high honour not only to all the Heraclidæ, but to all the citizens of Sparta; that it

[45] So Xenophon calls him, not 'Mithridates,' the common reading in Plutarch. Some MSS. indeed, in the Life of Agesilaus, have it 'Spithridates.'

might belong not so much to the posterity of Hercules, as to those who resembled Hercules in that virtue, which numbered him with the gods. He hoped likewise that, when the crown was settled in this manner, no Spartan would have higher pretensions than himself.

At first, he prepared to draw the citizens into his scheme, and committed to memory an oration written by Cleon of Halicarnassus for that purpose. But he quickly perceived, that so great and difficult a reformation required more extraordinary methods to bring it to bear. And as in tragedy machinery is introduced [where more natural means will not do], so he resolved to assail the people with forged oracles and prophecies; well knowing that Cleon's eloquence would avail but little, unless he previously subdued their minds with divine sanctions and the terrors of superstition. He first, therefore, as Ephorus informs us, endeavoured to corrupt the priestess of Delphi, and afterward those of Dodona by means of one Pherecles; and having no success in either application, he applied in person to the oracle of Ammon, and offered the priests large sums of gold. But they likewise rejected his proposals with indignation, and sent deputies to Sparta to charge him with the attempt. When these Lybians found he was acquitted, they took their leave of the Spartans, saying; "We will pass better judgements, when you come "to live among us in Lybia." There was an ancient prophecy it seems, that the Lacedæmonians would some time or other settle in Africa. This whole scheme of Lysander's was of an extraordinary texture, not originating from accidental circumstances, but deep laid, and conducted with uncommon art and address: so that it may be compared to a mathematical demonstration, in which from some principles first assumed the conclusion is deduced through a variety of abstruse and intricate steps. We shall therefore explain it at large, taking Epho-

rus[46], who was both an historian and a philosopher, for our guide.

There was a woman in Pontus, who announced that she was pregnant by Apollo. Many very naturally rejected her assertion, and many believed it. So that when she was delivered of a son, several persons of the greatest eminence took particular care of his education, and for some reason or other gave him the name of Silenus. This miraculous birth Lysander adopted for a foundation, and upon it raised his whole superstructure. He made choice of such assistants, as might bring the story into reputation, and place it beyond suspicion. He then got another story propagated at Delphi, and spread at Sparta; "That certain ancient oracles were kept in the private registers of the priests, which it was not lawful to touch or to look upon; till in some future age a person should arise, who could incontrovertibly prove himself the son of Apollo, and to him those oracles were to be delivered." The way thus prepared, Silenus was to make his appearance as the son of Apollo, and to demand the oracles. The priests, who were in combination, were to inquire into every article, and examine him strictly as to his birth. At last they were to pretend to be convinced of his divine parentage, and to show him the books. Silenus was then publicly to read all those prophecies, particularly that for which the whole design was set on foot; namely, "That it would be more for the honour and interest of Sparta to choose their kings out of the most worthy men in the commonwealth." But when Silenus was grown up and came to undertake his part, Lysander had the mortification to see his piece miscarry through the cowardice of one of the accomplice-actors, whose heart failed him, just as the business was going to be carried into execution. Nothing of this, however, was detected during the life of Lysander.

[46] Of this historian both Polybius and Strabo, with some few exceptions, have given a favourable account.*

He died before Agesilaus returned from Asia, after he had engaged his country, or rather involved all Greece in the Bœotian war. This, indeed, is variously stated; some laying the blame upon him, some upon the Thebans, and some upon both. Those who charge the Thebans with it, assert that they overturned the altar, and profaned the sacrifice[47] which Agesilaus was offering at Aulis; and that Androclides and Amphitheus, under the influence of Persian gold[48], attacked the Phocensians and laid waste their country, in order to draw upon the Lacedæmonians the Grecian war. On the other hand, as they who make Lysander the author of the war inform us, he was highly displeased that the Thebans alone of all the confederates should claim the tenth of the Athenian spoils taken at Decelea, and complain of his having sent the money to Sparta. But what he most resented was, their having put the Athenians in a way of delivering themselves from the Thirty Tyrants, whom he had set up. The Lacedæmonians, in order to strengthen the hands of those Tyrants and render them more formidable,

47 Beside this affair of the sacrifice, the Lacedæmonians were offended at the Thebans for having claimed the tenth of the treasure taken at Decelea, as well as for having refused to attend them in their expedition against the Piræus, and dissuaded the Corinthians from joining in that enterprise. The Thebans, indeed, began to be jealous of the growing power of the Lacedæmonians; and did not wish to see the Athenians, whose weight had been considerable in the balance of power, entirely ruined. (Xenoph. Hellen. iii.)

48 These were not the only persons, who had received bribes from Persia. Tithraustes, alarmed at the progress which Agesilaus was making in Asia, sent Timocrates the Rhodian with fifty talents to be distributed among the leading men in the states of Greece. Those of Corinth and Argos had their share, as well as the Thebans. In consequence of this, the Thebans persuaded the Locrians to pillage a tract of land, at that time in dispute between the Phocensians and the Thebans: the Phocensians made reprisals. The Thebans supported the Locrians: upon which the Phocensians applied to the Spartans, and the war became general. (L.)

Xenophon, to whom we are indebted for this detail (ib.), does not mention Amphitheus, but Pausanias does under the name of Amphithemis. (iii. 9.)*

had decreed, "That if any Athenian fled out of the city, he should be apprehended, wherever he was found, and obliged to return; and that whoever opposed the taking of such fugitives, should be treated as the enemies of Sparta." The Thebans upon that occasion issued orders, which deserve to be enrolled with the actions of Hercules and Bacchus. They caused proclamation to be made, "That every house and city should be open to such Athenians as desired protection; that whoever refused assistance to a fugitive that was seized, should be fined a talent; and that if any one should carry arms through Bœotia against the Athenian Tyrants, he should not meet with the slightest molestation." Neither were their actions unsuitable to these decrees, so humane and worthy of Greeks. When Thrasybulus and his company seized the castle of Phyle, and laid the plan of their other operations, it was from Thebes that they set out; and the Thebans not only supplied them with arms and money, but gave them a kind reception and every encouragement. These were the grounds of Lysander's resentment against them.

He was naturally prone to anger, and the melancholy which grew upon him with years made him still more so. He importuned the Ephori, therefore, to send him against the Thebans. Accordingly he was employed, and marched out at the head of one army, and Pausanias was quickly despatched after him with another. Pausanias took a circuit by mount Cithæron, to enter Bœotia; and Lysander passed through Phocis with a very considerable force to meet him. The city of Orchomenus opened her gates to him, as he was upon his march, and he took Lebadia by storm and plundered it. Thence he sent letters to Pausanias, to desire him to move from Platææ, and join him at Haliartus, for he intended to be there himself by break of day. But the messenger was taken by a Theban reconnoitring party, and the letters were carried to Thebes.

Upon this, the Thebans entrusted their city to a body of Athenian auxiliaries; and marching themselves about midnight for Haliartus, reached the town a little before Lysander, and entered it with part of their forces. Lysander at first thought proper to encamp upon an eminence, and wait for Pausanias. But, when the day began to decline, he grew impatient, and ordered the Lacedæmonians and confederates to arms. He then led out his troops, in a direct line along the high road, up to the walls. The Thebans who remained without, taking the city on the left, fell upon his rear at the fountain called Cissusa [49]. In this fountain the nurses of Bacchus, it is fabled, washed him immediately after his birth. The water is indeed of a bright shining colour like wine, and a most agreeable taste. Not far from it grow the Cretan canes [50], of which javelins are made; whence the Haliartians would prove, that Rhadamanthus dwelt there. Besides, they show his tomb, which they call Alea. The monument of Alcmena, likewise, is near that place; and nothing, they say, can be more probable than that she was buried there, because she married Rhadamanthus after Amphitryon's death.

The other Thebans, who had entered the city, drew up with the Haliartians, and stood still for some time. But when they saw Lysander with his vanguard approaching the walls, they rushed out at the gates, and killed him with a soothsayer by his side, and some few more; the chief part of his followers having retreated as fast as possible to the main body. The Thebans improved their advantage, and pressed upon them with so much ardour, that

[49] The name of this fountain should probably, after Pausanias and Strabo, be read 'Tilphusa' or 'Tilphosa.'

[50] Strabo (ix.) informs us, that Haliartus was destroyed by the Romans in the war with Perseus. He also speaks of a lake in its neighbourhood, which produces canes or reeds, not for shafts of javelins, but for pipes or flutes. Plutarch likewise mentions the latter use, in the Life of Sylla.

they were soon put to the rout, and fled to the hills. Their loss amounted to a thousand, and that of the Thebans to three hundred. The latter lost their lives by chasing the enemy into craggy and dangerous ascents. These three hundred had been accused of favouring the Lacedæmonians; and, being determined to wipe off the stain, pursued them with a degree of rashness which proved fatal to themselves.

Pausanias received the news of this misfortune, as he was upon his march from Platææ to Thespiæ, and continued his route in good order to Haliartus. Thrasybulus, likewise, brought up his Athenians thither from Thebes. Pausanias was desirous of a truce, that he might stipulate for the dead; but the older Spartans could not think of it without indignation. They accordingly went to him and declared, "That they would never recover the body of Lysander by truce, but by arms: that, if they conquered, they should bring it off and bury it with honour; and, if they were worsted, they should fall gloriously upon the same spot with their commander." Notwithstanding these representations of the veteran, Pausanias saw it would be very difficult to beat the Thebans now flushed with victory; and that, even if he should gain the advantage, he could hardly without a truce carry off the body, which lay so near the walls. He therefore sent a herald who settled the conditions, and then retired with his army. As soon as they were beyond the confines of Bœotia, they interred Lysander in the territories of the Panopæans[51], which was the first ground belonging to their friends and allies. His monument still remains, by the side of the road from Delphi to Chæronea. While the Lacedæmonians had their quarters there, it is reported that a certain Phocensian, in giving an account of the action to a friend of his who had not been in it, said, "The enemy fell upon them, just after Lysander had passed the Hoplites."

[51] A tribe in Phocis. See Pausan. x. 4.*

While the man stood wondering at the account, a Spartan, one of Lysander's friends, asked the Phocensian, "What he meant by 'Hoplites[52],' for he could "make nothing of it." "I mean," said he, "the "place, where the enemy cut down our first ranks. "The river, which runs by the town, is called Ho-"plites." The Spartan, when he heard this, burst into tears, and exclaimed, "How inevitable is fate!" Lysander, it seems, had received an oracle couched in these terms;

> Shun loud Hoplites, and the earth-born dragon
> Which stings thee in the rear.

Some say, the Hoplites does not run by Haliartus, but is a brook near Coronea, which mixes with the river Phliarus, and passes by that city. It was formerly called Hoplias, but is now known by the name of Isomantus. The Haliartian, who killed Lysander, was named Neochorus, and bore a dragon in his shield, to which it was supposed the oracle referred.

They tell us likewise, that the city of Thebes during the Peloponnesian war had an oracle from the Ismenian Apollo, which foretold the battle at Delium[53] and this at Haliartus, though the latter did not happen till thirty years after the other. The oracle runs thus;

> Shun the wolf's confines, nor employ thy skill
> Perverse for foxes on th' Orchalian hill.

The country about Delium he calls 'the confines;' because Bœotia there borders upon Attica; and by

[52] Hoplites, though the name of a river, signifies also 'a heavy-armed soldier.'

[53] The battle of Delium, in which the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans, was fought Ol. lxxxix. 1., B. C. 424, according to Diod. Sic. xii. 76; and, according to Thucyd. v. 32, the year before: and that of Haliartus full twenty-nine years afterward. But it is common for historians to make use of a round number, except in cases where great precision is required.

'th' Orchalian hill' is particularly meant that called Alopecus[54], on the side of Helicon looking toward Haliartus.

After the death of Lysander, the Spartans so much resented Pausanias' whole behaviour with respect to that event, that they summoned him to be tried for his life. He did not however appear to answer to the charge, but fled to Tegea and took refuge in Minerva's temple, where he spent the rest of his days as her suppliant.

Lysander's poverty, which was discovered after his death, added lustre to his virtue. It was then found, that notwithstanding the money which had passed through his hands, the authority which he had exercised over so many cities, and indeed the immense empire of which he had been possessed, he had not in the least improved his family-fortune. This account we have from Theopompus, whom we more readily believe when he commends, than when he finds fault; for he as well as many others, was more inclined to censure than to praise.

Ephorus informs us that subsequently, upon some disputes between the confederates and the Spartans, it was thought necessary to inspect Lysander's papers, and for that purpose Agesilaus went to his house. Among the rest he found one of a political character, calculated to prove the propriety of taking the right of succession from the Eurytionidæ and Agidæ, and of electing kings from among persons of the greatest merit. This he was going to produce before the citizens, in order to show what the real principles of Lysander were. But Lacratidas, a man of sense and the principal of the Ephori, restrained him from it by representing, "How improper it would be to dig "Lysander out of his grave; when this oration, which "was written in so artful and persuasive a manner, "ought rather to be buried with him."

Among the other honours paid to his memory,

[54] That is, 'fox-hill.'

that which I am about to mention is none of the least. Some persons, who had contracted themselves to his daughters in his life-time, when they found that he died poor, renounced their engagements. The Spartans fined them for having courted the alliance while they had riches in view, and breaking it off when they discovered that poverty, which was the best proof of Lysander's probity and justice. There was a law (it seems) at Sparta, which punished not only those who continued in a state of celibacy, or married too late, but those also who married ill; and it was levelled chiefly at persons, who married into rich, rather than into good families. Such are the particulars of Lysander's Life, with which history has supplied us.

THE

LIFE

OF

SYLLA.

SUMMARY.

Extraction and fortune of Sylla. His figure, love of repartee, and good living. Bocchus delivers up to him Jugurtha: Source of his hostility against Marius. He is elected prætor, and sent as lieutenant into Cappadocia. His future greatness predicted. New subjects of quarrel between Marius and himself. His success in the Social War: ascribed by himself to fortune. Presage of his sovereign authority. Inconsistency of his conduct. He is elected consul: commencement of the Civil War announced by prodigies. Marius combines with the tribune Sulpitius, who procures him the management of the Mithridatic War. Prætors insulted by Sylla's soldiers. Omens, which determine him to march to Rome. The senate sends an embassy to him. He enters the city. Marius flies. Sylla sets a price upon his head. Situation of Mithridates' affairs. Sylla lays siege to Athens; and plunders the Grecian temples: Compared with the ancient Roman generals. Portrait of the tyrant Aristion. Capture and sack of Athens. Sylla puts a stop to the carnage. Aristion surrenders himself. Sylla goes into Bœotia. His small force despised by the enemy. He seizes an advantageous position, and saves Chæronea. Presages of his success. He encamps near Archelaüs. Two Chæroneans drive the enemy from the port of Thurium. Sylla gains a complete victory, and erects trophies: is attacked in Thessaly by Dorylaüs, and gains a second victory. Has an interview with Archelaüs, and grants him a peace. Mithridates' envoys refuse to confirm it. Sylla's interview with that prince, and ratification of the treaty,

He oppresses Asia Minor: carries off from Athens the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastus: is seized with the gout, while in that city. Satyr found near Apollonia. Sylla defeats the consul Norbanus. Lucullus, his lieutenant, routs a much more numerous army. Sylla corrupts the troops of Scipio; and gains a great victory over young Marius. Telesinus the Samnite nearly gets possession of Rome: is engaged by Sylla, and defeated. He convenes the senate, and during their sitting massacres six thousand men. His change of behaviour, on obtaining the supreme power; and horrible proscriptions. He orders twelve thousand men to be put to death at Præneste: declares himself dictator: lays down the office, and predicts to Pompey the war which he subsequently waged with Lepidus. Dedicates the tenth of his substance to Hercules; is attacked by the Morbus Pediculosus: *dies. His funeral.*

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of a patrician family. One of his ancestors, named Rufinus[1], is said to have been consul, but to have fallen under a disgrace more than equivalent to that honour. He was found to have in his possession more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not permit; and for that he was expelled from the senate. Hence it was, that his posterity continued in a low and obscure condition; and Sylla himself was born to a very scanty fortune. Even when he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a small consideration; and with this he was subsequently reproached, when risen to such opulence as he had had no previous reason to expect. For one day, as he was bragging and priding himself upon the exploits which he had achieved in Africa, a person of

[1] Publius Cornelius Rufinus, a man of great military talents and dishonest avarice (A. Gell. iv. 8.), was twice consul; the first time A. U. C. 463, and the second thirteen years afterward. He was expelled the senate two years after his second consulship, when Q. Fabricius Lucinus and Caius Æmilius Papus were censors. (See Val. Max. ii. 9.) Velleius Paterculus (ii. 17.) informs us that Sylla was the sixth in descent from this Rufinus, which might very well be; for between the first consulship of Rufinus and the first campaign of Sylla, there was an interval of a hundred and eighty-eight years.

some name and character asked, "How canst thou "be an honest man, who art master of such a for"tune, when thy father left thee nothing?" Though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expense, yet it seems they still considered it as not less disgraceful to have departed from family-poverty, than to have spent a paternal estate. And a long time afterward, when Sylla had made himself absolute and put numbers to death, a man who was only the second of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock for having concealed a friend included in the proscription, spoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner; "I am his old acquaintance; "we lived long under the same roof: I hired the "upper apartment at two thousand sesterces, and "he the one under me at three thousand." So that the difference between their disbursements was then only a thousand sesterces, which in Attic money is two hundred and fifty drachmas. Such is the account, which we have of his origin.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his statues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing; and this ferocity was heightened by his complexion, which was a strong red, interspersed with spots of white. From this complexion, we learn, he had the name of Sylla[2]; and an Athenian droll deduced from it the following jest:

Sylla's a mulberry sprinkled with meal.

Neither is it foreign to make these observations upon a man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obscurity, was such a lover of drollery that he spent his time with mimics and jesters, and went with them to every length of riot. Nay, when in

[2] Sil or Syl is a yellow kind of earth, which when burnt becomes red. Hence *Syllaceus Color*, in Vitruvius, signifies 'purple.'

the height of his power, he would collect the most noted players and buffoons every day, and in a manner extremely unsuitable to his age and dignity drink and join with them in licentious wit, while business of consequence lay neglected. He would never, indeed, admit any thing serious at his table; and though at other times a man of business, and austere in his manner, he would change instantaneously whenever he had company, and begin a carousal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the most affable man in the world, the most easy of access, and the most capable of being moulded just as they pleased.

To this dissipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, and his disorderly and infamous love of pleasure, which stuck by him even in age. One of his mistresses named Nicopolis, was a courtesan, but very rich. This woman was so captivated by his company and the beauty of his person, that she entertained a real passion for him, and at her death made him her heir. His mother-in-law likewise, who loved him as her own son, left him her estate. With these additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quæstor to Marius in his first consulship, and went over with him into Africa to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he acquired great honour, and among other things availed himself of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus, king of Numidia. The embassadors of that prince had just escaped out of the hands of robbers, when Sylla gave them the most humane reception, loaded them with presents, and sent them back with a strong guard.

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his son-in-law Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat; and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, chose rather to let Sylla seize him, than to deliver him up himself. Sylla communicated the affair to

Marius[3], and taking a small party with him set out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What indeed could be more so than, in hopes of getting another man into his power, to put himself into that of a barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus saw them at his disposal, and that he was under a necessity of betraying either the one or the other, he debated long within himself which should be the victim. At last, he determined to abide by his original resolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

This procured Marius a triumph, but envy ascribed the whole glory of it to Sylla; a circumstance which Marius in his heart not a little resented: especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame and from a low and obscure condition now rose to general esteem, suffered his ambition to carry him so far as to order a signet to be engraved with a representation of this adventure, which he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. As he thought Sylla however not considerable enough to be an object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus in his second consulship he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third bestowed upon him the command of a thousand men. Sylla, in these several capacities, performed many important services. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus chief of the Tectosagæ[4] prisoner; and, in that of tribune, he persuaded the great and popular nation of the Marsi to declare themselves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneasy at his successes, and that instead of giving him new occasions to distinguish himself he rather opposed his advancement, he applied to Catulus, Marius' collegue.

[3] This is rather differently stated in the Life of Marius, p. 130.*

[4] Whose capital was Toulouse.*

Catulus was a worthy man, but he had not the degree of vigour necessary for action. He, therefore, employed Sylla in the most difficult enterprises, and this opened to him a fine field both of honour and power. He subdued most of the barbarians who inhabited the Alps, and in a time of scarcity undertook to procure a supply of provisions; which he performed so effectually, that there was not only abundance in Catulus' camp, but that of Marius also was relieved with the overplus.

Sylla himself writes, that Marius was deeply afflicted at this circumstance. From so petty and childish a cause did that enmity spring, which afterward grew up in blood, and was nourished by civil wars and the incurable rage of faction, till it ended in tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This shows how wise a man Euripides was, and how well he understood the distempers of government, when he called upon mankind to beware of ambition[5], as a dæmon most destructive to her worshippers.

Sylla by this time thought the glory, which he had acquired in war, sufficient to procure him a share in the administration; and he therefore immediately left the camp, to go and make his court to the people. The office, which he solicited, was the city-prætorship, but he failed in the attempt. For this he assigns the following reason: the people, knowing the friendship between him and Bocchus, expected if he were ædile before his prætorship, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beasts; and upon that account chose other prætors, that he might be forced upon the ædileship.* Subsequent events, however, showed the cause alleged by Sylla not to have been

[5] Phœn. 534. (L.) But the English stage can supply as strong a dissuasive:

> Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition;
> By that sin fell the angels, &c.
>
> (Shaksp. Hen. VIII. iii. 2.)*

the true one. For the year following[6] he got himself elected prætor, partly by his assiduities and partly by his money. While he bore that office, he happened to be provoked at Cæsar, and said angrily to him, "I will use my authority against you." Cæsar[7] with a smile replied, "You do well to call it 'yours,' for you bought it[8]."

After his prætorship, he was sent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the re-establishment of Ariobarzanes; but his real design was to restrain the enterprising spirit of Mithridates, who was acquiring dominions not less respectable than his paternal ones[9]. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himself of the service of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cause. With these he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces vast numbers of them, and still more of the Armenians who came to their succour: in consequence of which Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came embassador to him from Arsaces king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourse between the two nations; and it must be considered as a part of Sylla's good fortune, that he was the first Roman, to whom the Parthians applied for friendship and alliance. At the time of audience he is said to have ordered three chairs, one

[6] A. U. C. 657.

[7] This must have been Sextus Julius Cæsar, who was consul a few years after Sylla's prætorship. Caius Julius Cæsar was only four years old, when Sylla was prætor. (L.)

Plutarch's reasoning here, as M. Ricard observes, is not very logical! for though the people, as Sylla stated, would have liked his shows well, they probably liked his money better.*

[8] This will remind the reader of one of Martial's epigrams, which has been thus translated:

> The golden hair, which Galla wears,
> Is hers: who would have thought it?
> She swears 'tis hers; and true she swears—
> For I know where she bought it.*

[9] For the history of these princes, see Justin xxxviii. 3, &c.*

for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and one in the middle for himself. Orobazus was subsequently put to death by the king of Parthia, for having submitted so far to a Roman. As for Sylla, some commended his lofty behaviour to the barbarians, while others blamed it as insolent and unseasonably imperious.

It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian[10] in the train of Orobazus looked at Sylla's face, and observed very attentively the turn of his ideas and the motions of his body. These he compared with the rules of his art, and then declared, "That he must infallibly be "one day the greatest of men; and that it was strange, "he could bear to be any thing less at present."

Upon his return, Censorinus prepared to accuse him of extortion, for having illegally drawn vast sums from a kingdom in alliance with Rome. He did not however carry it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afresh, on the following occasion: Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome and to Sylla at the same time, dedicated several images of Victory in the Capitol, and close by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form in which he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digest the affront, prepared to pull them down, and Sylla's friends were determined to prevent it. Between them both, the whole city was set in a flame; when the Social War which had long lain smothered broke out, and for the present put a stop to the sedition.

In this important war, which was so various in it's fortune and brought so many mischiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the small execution done by Marius, that military skill requires a strong and vigorous constitution to second it. Sylla on the other hand performed so many memorable

[10] An inhabitant of Chalcis, the metropolis of Chalcidene in Syria (Plin. H. N. v. 28.); if Plutarch did not rather, as Amyot suspects, write 'Chaldæan.'

things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greatest in the world, and his enemies as the most fortunate. Neither did he behave, with respect to that notion, like Timotheus the son of Conon. When the enemies of that Athenian ascribed all his successes to Fortune, and got a picture drawn in which he was represented asleep, with the goddess by his side taking cities for him in her net, he gave way to an indecent passion, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, subsequently, upon his return from a certain expedition, he addressed the people in these terms; "In this, my "fellow-citizens, Fortune has no share." The goddess, it is said, piqued herself so far upon having her revenge for this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never in future effect any thing extraordinary, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became so obnoxious to the people that they sent him into banishment.

Sylla took a different course. It not only gave him pleasure to hear his success imputed to Fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added an air of grandeur and even of divinity to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real persuasion of it's truth, we cannot affirm. He himself states in his Commentaries, "That his enterprises executed on a sudden, in a manner different from what he had originally intended, always succeeded the best." It is plain likewise from his saying, "That he was born rather for fortune, than for war," that he attributed more to luck than to valour. In short, he makes himself entirely Fortune's creature; since to her divine influence he ascribes the good understanding, which always subsisted between him and Metellus, a man in the same sphere of life with himself, and his father-in-law. For, whereas he expected to have found him a man troublesome in office, he proved on the contrary a quiet and oblig-

ing collegue [11]. Add to this, that in the Commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, he advises him to depend upon nothing so much, as what heaven should suggest to him in the visions of the night. He farther informs us, that when he was despatched at the head of an army against the confederates, the earth opened on a sudden near Laverna [12]; and that there issued out of the chasm, which was extremely large, an immense quantity of fire and a flame that shot up to the heavens. The soothsayers, being consulted upon it, answered; "That a man of courage and of "most distinguished personal appearance, should "take the reins of government into his hands, and "suppress the tumults with which Rome was then "agitated." Sylla says, he was the man; for that his locks of gold were sufficient proof of his 'distinguished personal appearance,' and that after so many signal actions he could unhesitatingly pronounce himself 'a man of courage.' Thus much concerning his confidence in the gods.

In other respects, he was less consistent with himself. Rapacious in a high degree, but still more liberal [13]; in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable; submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who stood in need of his services: so that it was hard to say whether he was more insolent, or more servile in his nature. Such was his inconsistency in punishing, that he would sometimes inflict torture

[11] This was in the year (A. U. C. 673) in which Cicero made his first public oration, for Sextus Roscius Amerinus, with a still more creditable degree of courage than of eloquence; as Chrysogonus (the freedman of Sylla, who was then also perpetual dictator) was interested in Roscius' ruin.*

[12] In the Salarian way, there was a grove and temple consecrated to Laverna, (L.) the goddess of swindlers and thieves. (See Hor. Ep. I. xvi. 60.) In that grove indeed, according to Festus, the partition of their plunder was usually made.*

[13] Exactly the '*alieni appetens, sui profusus*,' with which Sallust has so well expressed a striking part of Catiline's character. (Bell. Cat. 5.)*

on the slightest grounds, and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes; he would easily receive some persons into favour after the most unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance upon others for the most trifling fault by death and confiscation of goods. These things can no otherwise be reconciled, than by concluding that he was harsh and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations when his own interest was at stake.

In this very war with the confederates, his soldiers murthered with clubs and stones a lieutenant of his named Albinus [14], who had been honoured with the prætorship; yet he suffered them, after such a crime, to escape with impunity. He only took occasion thence to boast, that he should find they would exert themselves more during the rest of the war, because they would think themselves obliged to atone for their offence by extraordinary acts of valour. The censure, which he incurred upon this occasion, did not in the least affect him. His great object was Marius' destruction; and, finding that the confederate war was drawing to it's conclusion [15], he paid his court to the army, that he might be appointed general against him.

Upon his return to Rome, being then fifty years of age, he was elected consul with Quinctus Pompeius, and at the same time made an illustrious match with Cæcilia, the daughter of Metellus the high-priest. This union gave occasion to many sarcastical songs, and (according to Livy's account) many of the principal citizens invidiously deemed him unworthy of such an alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the consulship. Cæcilia was not his first wife, for in the early part of his life, he had married Ilia, by whom he had a daughter;

[14] This officer is mentioned, but with very different characters, by the Suppl. Liv. who follows Orosius, in calling him 'intolerably proud' (v. 18.), and by Valerius Maximus, who says 'he was in manners, birth, and conduct, irreproachable.'*

[15] A. U. C. 665.

subsequently he espoused Ælia, and after her Cœlia, whom on account of her barrenness he repudiated without any other marks of disgrace, and dismissed with valuable presents. As he soon afterwards however married Metella, the dismission of Cœlia became an object of censure. Metella he always treated with the utmost respect; insomuch that when the people of Rome wished him to recal the exiles of Marius' party, and could not prevail with him, they entreated Metella to use her good offices in their favour. It was thought likewise that, when he took Athens, that city met with harsher usage, because the inhabitants had jested vilely on Metella from the walls. But these things happened at a later period.

The consulship was now but of small consideration with him, in comparison with what he had in view. His heart was fixed upon obtaining the management of the Mithridatic war. In this respect he had a rival in Marius, who was goaded by an unseasonable ambition and madness for fame, passions which never wax old. Though now unwieldy in his person, and obliged on account of his age to give up his share in commands near home, he coveted the direction of foreign wars and expeditions. This man watching his opportunity in Rome, when Sylla was gone to the camp to settle some unfinished concerns, framed that fatal sedition, which hurt her more essentially than all the wars she had ever encountered. Heaven sent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of it's own accord from the ensign-staves, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried their remains back to their nests. Some rats having gnawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the sacristans caught one of them in a trap, where she bore five young ones, and eat three of them. And (what was most remarkable) one day when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it the sound of a

trumpet, so shrill and mournful, that it frightened and astonished the whole city. The Tuscan sages said, it portended a new race of men and a renovation of the world. For they observed, that there were eight several kinds of men, all differing in life and manners; that heaven had allotted to each it's time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year; and that, when one race came to a period and another was rising, it was announced by some wonderful sign from either earth or heaven. So that it was evident at one view to those who attended to these things and were versed in them, that a different sort of men were come into the world, with other manners and customs, and more or less the care of the gods than those who had preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages many strange alterations happened: that divination (for instance) should be held in high honour in some one age, and prove successful in all it's predictions, because the Deity afforded pure and perfect signs to proceed by; whereas in another it should be in small repute, being chiefly extemporaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obscure principles. Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the Tuscan soothsayers. While the senate were attending to their interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow in the sight of the whole body brought a grasshopper in her mouth; and after she had torn it asunder, left one part among them, and carried the other off. From this the soothsayers declared they apprehended a dangerous sedition and dispute between the town and the country. For the inhabitants of the town are noisy like the grasshopper, and those of the country are domestic like the sparrow[16].

Soon after this Marius got Sulpitius to join him.

[16] The original is obviously corrupt in this place. One MS. indeed gives a reading, which would reverse that of the text: 'The inhabitants of the town are noisy like the sparrow, and those of the country frequent the fields like the grasshopper.'

This man was second to none in desperate attempts. Instead of inquiring indeed for another more emphatically wicked, you must ask in what instance of wickedness he exceeded himself. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice; and cared not for whatever disgrace or guilt he might incur by his actions. He sold the freedom of Rome openly to persons who had been slaves, as well as to strangers, and had the money counted out upon a table in the Forum. He kept constantly about him a guard of three hundred men well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his 'Anti-senate:' and though he got a law made, that no senator should contract debts to the amount of more than two thousand drachmas, it appeared at his death that he himself owed more than three millions. This wretch was by Marius let loose upon the people, and regulated every thing by the sword. Among other pernicious edicts, which he procured, was that which gave to Marius the management of the Mithridatic war. Upon this, the consuls ordered all the courts to be shut up. But one day, as they were holding an assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he set his ruffians upon them, and many were slain. The son of Pompey the consul, who was a mere boy, was of the number. Pompey concealed himself, and saved his own life. Sylla was pursued into the house of Marius, and thence dragged to the Forum, to revoke the order for the cessation of public business [17]. For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred to Marius the superintendence of the war with Mithridates. Upon which he immediately despatched some military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army at the hands of Sylla, and to bring it to Marius. But Sylla got before them to the camp; and his soldiers were no sooner apprised of the com-

[17] See the Life of Marius, p. 164, &c.

mission of those officers, than they stoned them to death.

Marius in return dipped his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houses to be plundered. Nothing now was to be seen but hurry and confusion, some flying from the camp to the city, and others from the city to the camp. The senate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius. So that, when they were informed Sylla was marching towards Rome, they sent two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to stop him. As these magistrates delivered their orders to Sylla with some haughtiness, the soldiers prepared to kill them; but at last they contented themselves with breaking their fasces, tearing off their robes, and sending them away with every mark of disgrace.

The very sight of them, robbed as they were of the ensigns of their authority, spread sorrow and consternation throughout Rome; and announced a sedition, for which there was no longer either restraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force by force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of six complete legions, and had his collegue along with him. His army, he saw, was ready at the first word to march to Rome, but he was unresolved in his own mind and apprehensive of the danger. Upon his offering sacrifice however, the soothsayer Posthumius had no sooner inspected the entrails, than he stretched out both his hands to Sylla, and proposed to be reserved in chains till after the battle for the worst of punishments, if every thing did not presently succeed to the general's entire wish. It is said, likewise, that there appeared to Sylla in a dream the goddess, whose worship the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva [18], or Bellona. She seemed to stand by him, and put thunder into his hand, and having summoned each

[18] Dacier solves this doubt, by what follows respecting the thunder. This he represents as not wielded by any of the three except Minerva, who was one of the deities of the Capitol.*

of his enemies by name, bade him strike them; upon which they fell, and were consumed to ashes. Encouraged by this vision, which he related the next morning to his collegue, he bent his way toward Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ[19], he was met by an embassy entreating him not to advance in that hostile manner, since the senate had come to a resolution to do him all the justice which he could desire. This request he promised to grant, and as if he intended to encamp there, ordered his officers as usual to mark out the ground: upon which the embassadors, with entire confidence in his honour, took their leave. But as soon as they were gone, he despatched Basillus and Caius Mummius, to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsquiline mount; and followed them himself with the utmost expedition. Accordingly, Basillus and his party seized the gate, and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and observing the opposition which his soldiers met with, called out to them to set fire to the houses. He himself seized a flaming torch, and advanced before them: at the same time, he ordered his archers to shoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him: passion and fury governed all his motions: he thought of nothing but his enemies; and neither considered nor pitied his friends, his relations, or his acquaintance. Such was the case, when he forced his way with fire, which makes no distinction between the innocent and guilty.

Meanwhile Marius, who had been driven back to

19 There being no place between Nola and Rome called 'Picinæ,' Lubinus thinks we should read 'Pictæ,' which was a place of public entertainment about twenty-five miles from the capital. Strabo, and Antoninus (in his Itinerary) mention it as such, which renders the conjecture very plausible.

the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to the slaves that would repair to his standard. But the enemy pressed on with so much vigour, that he was forced to quit the city.

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius and a few others condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, and brought to the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. Upon Marius' head he set a price, in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, since he had not long before fled into Marius' house, and put his life into his hands, and yet was dismissed in safety. Had Marius, at that time, instead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute master of Rome. But he spared his enemy; and a few days afterward, when a similar opportunity offered, had to regret that he met not with similar generosity in return.

The senate did not express the concern, which this gave them; but the people obviously by facts showed their resentment, and their resolution to make reprisals. For they rejected from the consulship his nephew Nonius, who relied upon his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius in an ignominious manner, and appointed others in their stead, whose promotion they thought would be most disagreeable to him. Sylla pretended much satisfaction at the thing, and said, "He was quite "happy to see the people by his means enabled to "enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought "proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred he proposed Lucius Cinna, who was of the opposite faction, for consul; but he first laid him under the sanction of a solemn oath to assist him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the Capitol, with a stone in his hand. There he swore before great numbers to preserve the friendship between them inviolate, adding this imprecation, "If I be guilty of any

"breach of it, may I be driven from the city as this "stone is from my hand!" at the same time throwing the stone upon the ground. Yet, as soon as he entered upon his office, he began to raise new commotions, and drew up an impeachment against Sylla, of which Verginius one of the tribunes was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him, and marched against Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla set sail from Italy, Mithridates (we are told) was visited by many ill presages at Pergamus. Among the rest, an image of Victory bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke just as it was going to place the crown upon his head, and the crown itself was dashed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The people of Pergamus were seized with astonishment, and Mithridates felt no small concern, though his affairs were then prosperous beyond his hopes. For he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their respective kings, and was now quietly settled at Pergamus, disposing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at pleasure. Of his sons, the eldest governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus, extending as far as the deserts above the Mæotic lake; the other, named Ariarathes, was subduing Thrace and Macedon with a great army. His generals with their armies were reducing other considerable places. The principal of these was Archelaüs, who commanded the seas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades and all the other islands within the bay of Malea, and was master of Eubœa itself. He had met, indeed, with a check at Chæronea. There Brutius Sura, lieutenant to Sentius who commanded in Macedon, a man distinguished by his courage and capacity, opposed him as he was overflowing Bœotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Chæronea, and confined him again to the sea. But as Lucius

Lucullus came and ordered the victor to give place to Sylla, to whom that province and the conduct of the war were decreed, he immediately quitted Bœotia, and returned to Sentius; though his success was beyond his hope, and Greece was ready to declare again for the Romans on account of his valour and conduct. These, it is true, were the most shining actions of Brutius' life.

When Sylla arrived, the cities sent embassadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by it's tyrant, Aristion, for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmost vigour, invested the Piræus, brought up all sorts of engines, and left no kind of assault unattempted. Had he waited awhile, he might without the smallest danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But his haste to return to Rome, where he apprehended some change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every risk, and spare neither men nor money to bring this war to a conclusion For, beside his other warlike equipage, he had ten thousand pair of mules which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, on account of the immense weights which broke down his machines or of their being frequently burnt by the enemy, he cut down the sacred groves. The shady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum in the suburbs fell beneath his ax. And as the war required prodigious sums of money to support it, he scrupled not to violate the holy treasures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus as well as Olympia the most beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote also to the Amphictyons at Delphi, "That it would be better for them to place "the treasures of Apollo in his hands: for either "he would keep them safer than they could, or if "he applied them to his own use, he would return "the full value." Caphis the Phocensian, one of his friends, was despatched upon this commission,

and was injoined to have every thing weighed to him.

This officer, upon his arrival at Delphi, was loth to touch the sacred deposits, and lamented to the Amphictyons the necessity, under which he acted, with many tears. Some said, they heard the sound of the lyre in the inmost sanctuary; and Caphis, either believing it or wishing to strike Sylla with a religious terror, sent him an account of it. But he wrote back jestingly, "That he was surprised "Caphis should not know that music was the voice "of joy, not of resentment. He might, therefore, "boldly take the treasures, since Apollo resigned "them to him with the utmost satisfaction."

These treasures were carried off, without being seen by many of the Greeks. But of the royal offerings there remained a silver urn, which was so large and heavy that no carriage could bear it, and therefore the Amphictyons were obliged to cut it in pieces. At the sight of this they called to mind now Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and now Paulus Æmilius; of whom one having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the others subdued the kings of Macedon, not only restrained their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but expressed their regard and reverence for them by additional gifts. Those great men indeed were legally commissioned, and their soldiers were persons of sober minds, who had learned to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals, with the magnanimity of kings, did not in their expenses exceed private persons, or bring upon the state any charge but what was common and reasonable. In short, they thought it not less disgraceful to flatter their own men, than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these latter times raised themselves to high posts by force, not by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen, rather than foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with complaisance.

While they thus bought their service, at the price of ministering to their vices, they were not aware that they were selling their entire country; and making themselves slaves to the worst of mankind, in order to command the best. This banished Marius from Rome, and afterward brought him back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin of Flaccus.

Of this corruption Sylla opened one of the first sources. For, to seduce the troops of other officers from them, he lavishly supplied the necessities of his own. Thus, while he was at once inviting the former to desertion and the latter to luxury, he had occasion for infinite sums, and particularly in this siege. For his anxiety to take Athens was irresistible: whether it were, that he wished to fight against that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the shadow now remained; or that he could not bear the scoffs and taunts, with which the tyrant Aristion in all the wantonness of ribaldry insulted him and Metella from the walls.

The composition of this fellow's heart was insolence and cruelty. He was the sink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had survived innumerable wars, tyrannies, and seditions, perished at last by this monster as by a deadly disease. A medimnus[20] of wheat was now sold there for a thousand drachmas. The people eat not only the herbs and roots, which grew about the citadel, but sodden leather and oil-bags; while Aristion was indulging himself in riotous feasts and dancings in the day-time, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He suffered the sacred lamp of the goddess to go out for want of oil; and, when the principal priestess sent to ask him for half a measure of barley, he sent her in return that quantity of pepper. The senators and priests came to entreat him to take

[19] The 'herbs and roots,' mentioned below, are in the original παρθενιον, for an account of which see the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. note (45.) See also Plin. H. N. xxii. 17.*

compassion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a shower of arrows. At last, when it was too late, he with much difficulty agreed to send two or three of the companions of his riots to negotiate peace. These, instead of making any proposals tending to save the city, talked in a lofty tone about Theseus, and Eumolpus, and the conquest of the Medes; which provoked Sylla to say, "Go, my noble souls, and take back your fine "speeches with you. For my part, I was not sent "to Athens to learn it's antiquities, but to chastise "its rebels."

In the mean time Sylla's spies heard some old men, who were conversing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not having secured the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. This intelligence they carried to Sylla; and he, far from disregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found that it might be scaled. He then set immediately about it; and in his Commentaries he informs us, that Marcus Teius[21] was the first man who mounted the wall. He there met with an adversary, and gave him such a violent blow on the skull, that he broke his sword; notwithstanding which, he stood firm and kept his place.

Thus Athens[22] was taken, as the old men had foretold. Sylla, having levelled with the ground the whole wall between the Piræan and the Sacred Gate, entered the town at midnight in a manner the most dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and were answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers, let loose to plunder and destroy. With drawn swords they rushed along the streets. The number of the killed was incalculable; but we may form some judgement of it, by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood.

[21] Probably it should be Ateius. In the Life of Crassus, one [illegible]eius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

[22] B. C. 26.

For, beside those who fell in other parts of the city, the blood shed in the market-place alone covered the whole Ceramicus as far as Dipylus. Nay, there are several who assure us that it ran through the gates, and overspread the suburbs.

But though such numbers were put to the sword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themselves, out of regret and pity for their sinking country. What reduced the best men among them to this despair, of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by the intercession of Midias and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themselves at his feet, partly by the entreaties of the senators who attended him in the expedition, and by his own satiety of blood, he was at last persuaded to stop his hand; and in compliment to the ancient Athenians said, "He forgave the many for the sake of the few, "the living for the dead."

In his Commentaries he informs us, that he took Athens on the calends of March, which coincides with the new moon in the month Anthesterion; when the Athenians were performing many rites, in memory of the destruction of the country by water: for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year[23].

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was there besieged by Curio, to whom Sylla gave that charge. He held out, however, a considerable time, but was at last forced to surrender for want of water. In this, the hand of Heaven was most visible. For the very same day and hour that Aristion was brought out, the sky, which before had been perfectly serene, grew black with clouds, and such a quantity of rain fell as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon afterward, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus; the greatest part of which

[23] The Deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica, according to Blair, B. C. 1764.

be laid in ashes, and among the rest that admirable work, the arsenal built by Philo[24].

During these transactions Taxiles, Mithridates' general, came down from Thrace and Macedon with a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and ninety chariots armed with sithes, and sent to desire Archelaüs to meet him. Archelaüs had then his station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea nor yet to fight the Romans; but was persuaded, that his point was to protract the war, and to cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla saw, better than he, the distress which he might incur for provisions; and therefore removed from that barren country, which was scarcely sufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Bœotia. Most people thought this an error in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica where horse could scarcely act, and to expose himself on the large and open plains of Bœotia, when he knew that the chief strength of the barbarians consisted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced (as we have observed) to hazard a battle. Besides, he was in pain for Hortensius a man of a lofty and enterprising spirit, who was bringing him a considerable reinforcement from Thessaly, and was watched by the enemy in the straits. These were the reasons which induced Sylla to march into Bœotia. As for Hortensius, Caphis a countryman of ours led him another way, and disappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by mount Parnassus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was at that time only a fort situated on the brow of a steep precipice, where the Phocensians of old took refuge when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortensius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy: and in the night made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with his whole army.

[24] This illustrious architect was likewise an eminent orator. See Cic. de Orat. i. 14., Val. Max. viii. 12., and Plin. H. N. vii. 37.*

Thus united, they took possession of a fertile hill in the middle of the plains of Elatia, well sheltered with trees and watered at the bottom. It is called Philobœotus, and is highly commended by Sylla for the fruitfulness of it's soil and it's agreeable situation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy not more than a handful. They had not indeed above fifteen hundred horse, and not quite fifteen thousand foot. The other generals as it were forced Archelaüs upon action; and when they came to marshal their forces in order of battle, they filled their whole plain with horses, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of so many nations, ranked thick together, seemed to rend the sky; and the pomp and splendour of their appearance was not without it's use in exciting terror. For the lustre of their arms, which were richly adorned with gold and silver, and the colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermixed with brass and polished steel, when the troops were in motion backward and forward, kindled the air with an aweful flame like that of lightening.

The Romans, in the utmost consternation, shut themselves up within their trenches. Sylla could not with all his arguments remove their fears; and, as he did not choose to force them thus dispirited into the field, he sat still and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boasts and insults of the barbarians. This was of more service to him, than any other measure which he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in sovereign contempt, and were not before, on account of their numbers, very obedient to their own generals, now forgot all discipline; and but few of them remained within their entrenchments. Invited by rapine and plunder, the chief part had dispersed themselves at several days' journey from the camp. In these excursions (it is said) they ruined the city of Panopea, sacked Lebadia[25],

[25] Lebadia was chiefly celebrated for the temple and oracle of Trophonius.*

and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered, without orders from any of their generals.

Sylla, full of sorrow and indignation to have these cities destroyed before his eyes, was desirous to try what effect toil would have upon his soldiers. He compelled them therefore to dig trenches to draw the Cephisus from it's channel, and made them work at it without intermission; standing inspector himself, and severely punishing all whom he found backward. His view in this was to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it answered the end which he proposed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla passed by, they called out to him to lead them against the enemy. Sylla said, "It is not any inclination to fight, but an "unwillingness to work, which induces you to make "this request. If you really wish to come to an "engagement, go sword in hand, and seize that post "immediately." At the same time he pointed to the place, where had formerly stood the citadel of the Parapotamians[26]; but all the buildings were now demolished, and there was nothing left but a steep craggy mountain, just separated from mount Edylium by the river Assus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephisus. The river, growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a safe place for an encampment. Sylla, seeing those of the enemy's troops called Chalcaspides hastening to seize this post, was anxious to gain it before them; and, by availing himself of the present spirit of his men, he succeeded. Archelaüs, disappointed of his aims, turned his arms against Chæronea. The Chæroneans, who had borne arms under Sylla, entreating him not to desert the place, he sent along with them the military tribune Gabinius with one legion;

[26] These were a people on the confines of Bœotia and Phocis, [illegible]se city had been destroyed by Xerxes. Herod. viii. 33., Pausan. [illegible]3. The above artifice, of employing an insubordinate soldiery, [illegible] been previously practised by Marius in the war with the Cim[illegible]i, p. 1[illegible]

and with all their ardour to reach home, the Chæroneans did not arrive sooner than their auxiliaries: such was his honour, when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipsed the zeal of those who implored his assistance. Juba informs us, that it was not Gabinius but Ericius[27], who was despatched upon this occasion. In this critical situation, however, was the city of Chæronea.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius most agreeable accounts of oracles, announcing to them victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many stories about them; but what Sylla himself writes, in the tenth book of his Commentaries, is as follows: Quintus Titius, a man of some note among the Romans employed in Greece, came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chæronea, and told him that Trophonius foretold another battle should shortly be fought in the same place, in which he should likewise prove victorious. Afterward came a private soldier of his own, with a promise from heaven of the glorious success which would attend his arms in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which these prophecies had been communicated: "The deity," they said, "who appeared to them, both in beauty and majesty resembled the Olympian Jupiter."

When Sylla had passed the Assus, he encamped under mount Edylium over-against Archelaus, who had strongly entrenched himself between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Assia. The spot is still designated by the name of Archelaus. Sylla passed one day, without attempting any thing. On the next, he left Muræna with a legion and two cohorts to harass the enemy, who were already in some disorder, while he himself went and sacrificed on the banks of the Cephisus. After the ceremony was finished, he proceeded to Chæronea to join the

[27] This, it is probable, should be read 'Hirtius,' for so some MSS. have it, where the same person is again mentioned in the sequel. (L.) Some likewise for 'Gabinius' read 'Geminius.' *

forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a post which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we express in our language by the term 'Orthopagus.' At the foot of it runs the river Morius[28], and the temple of Apollo Thurius likewise is placed; so denominated from Thuro the mother of Chæron, who (as history informs us) was the founder of Chæronea. Others say, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed to Cadmus for his guide, first presented herself there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phœnicians call a heifer 'Thor.'

As Sylla approached Chæronea, the tribune who had the city in charge led out his troops to meet him, having himself a crown of laurel in his hands. Just as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterprise, Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus two Chæroneans addressed him, with a promise to cut off the corps occupying Thurium, if he would give them a small party to support them in the attempt. For there was a path of which the barbarians were not apprised, leading from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muses, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; whence it was easy either to destroy them with stones, or to drive them down into the plain. Sylla, finding the character of these men for courage and fidelity supported by Gabinius, ordered them to carry the thing into execution. In the mean time, he drew up his forces, and placed the cavalry in the wings; taking the right himself, and giving the left to Muræna. Gallus[29] and Hortensius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reserve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights to prevent their being surrounded. For

[28] This river is subsequently called 'Molus;' but which is the right reading, is uncertain.

[29] Guarin., after Appian's Mithrid., reads 'Galba.' And so it is in several MSS. Dacier proposes to read 'Balbus,' which name occurs afterward.

it was easy to see that the enemy were preparing with their wings, which consisted of an infinite number of horse and all their light-armed foot, troops capable of moving with great agility and winding about at pleasure, to take a circuit and completely enclose the Roman army.

In the mean time the two Chæroneans, supported (according to Sylla's order) by a party under the command of Ericius, stole unobserved up Thurium and gained the summit. As soon as they made their appearance, the barbarians were struck with consternation and sought refuge in flight; but, in the confusion, many of them perished by each other's hands. For unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the steep mountain, they fell upon the spears of those who were next before them, or else pushed them down the precipice. All this while, the enemy were pressing upon them from above and galling them behind, so that three thousand men were killed upon Thurium. Of those who got down, some fell into the hands of Muræna, who met them in good order and easily cut them in pieces; others, who fled to the main body under Archelaüs, wherever they joined it, filled it with terror and dismay; and this was what gave the officers their chief trouble, and principally occasioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their disorder, moved with such vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief strength of those chariots consists in the length of their course, and their consequent impetuosity: with a short compass, they are as insignificant, as arrows sent from a bow not well drawn. This was the case, at present, with respect to the barbarians. Their chariots moved at first so slow, and their attacks were so lifeless, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmost ridicule. They even called for fresh ones, as they had been accustomed to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The barbarians

tried what the long pikes would do, and by locking their shields together endeavoured to keep themselves in good order. As for the Romans, after their spears had accomplished all that could be expected from them, they drew their swords, and met the enemy's cimiters with the strength, which a just indignation inspires. For Mithridates' generals had brought over fifteen thousand slaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry. Upon which occasion, a certain centurion is said to have exclaimed, "Surely these "are the Saturnalia[30]; for we never, at any other "time, saw slaves with any portion of liberty." As their ranks, however, were so close and their files so deep, that they could not easily be broken, and as they exerted an unparalleled degree of spirit, they were not repulsed and thrown into disorder, till the archers and slingers of the second line discharged upon them all their fury.

Archelaüs was now extending his right wing in order to surround the Romans, when Hortensius with the cohorts under his command pushed down to take him in flank. But Archelaüs by a sudden manœuvre turned against him with two thousand horse whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him toward the mountains; so that, being separated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, apprised of this, pushed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to Hortensius' assistance. On the other hand Archelaüs, conjecturing from the dust the real state of the case, left Hortensius and hastened back to the right of the Roman army, whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

[30] At this festival of Saturn, which took place annually on Dec. 17, all orders were devoted to mirth and feasting, friends sent pre-[illegible]s to one another, and masters treated their slaves upon an equal [illegible]ng (See Hor. Sat. II. vii.), at first for one day, and in later periods for more.

At the same time, Taxiles led on the Chalcaspides against Muræna; so that shouts were set up on both sides, which were re-echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now tarried, to consider which way he should direct his course. At length, resolving to return to his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to Muræna's assistance, and himself at the head of the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmost expedition. This, he found, had bravely maintained it's ground without him against the troops of Archelaüs; but as soon as he appeared, his men made such prodigious efforts, that they entirely routed the enemy, and pursued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidst this success, Sylla was not unmindful of Muræna's danger, but hastened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him however victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but to join in the pursuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and still greater, as they were endeavouring to gain their entrenchments; so that, out of so many myriads, only ten thousand men reached Chalcis. Sylla says, he missed only fourteen of his men, and two of these came up in the evening. For this reason he inscribed his trophies 'To Mars, to Victory, and to Venus [31],' to show that he was not less indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages which he had gained. This trophy was erected, for the victory won, on the plain where Archelaüs' troops began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus: another was placed upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, and inscribed in Greek cha-

[31] Venus is often considered as the deity of Good Fortune, and the best throw of the Roman dice was called by her name: it was no wonder therefore that Sylla, who valued himself upon his good luck, should inscribe to her one of his trophies. To this we may add the considerations, that she had a fabulous connexion with Mars, that ancient monuments often entitle her 'Victrix,' and that Pompey (according to Plin. H. N. viii. 7.) erected a temple to her under that title, on the steps of his celebrated theatre.*

racters, 'To the valour of Homoloïchus and Anaxidamus.'

Upon this occasion he exhibited games at Thebes, in a theatre erected for the purpose near the fountain of Œdipus [32]. But the judges, on account of the implacable hatred which he bore to the Thebans, were selected from other cities of Greece. The former he deprived of half their territories, and consecrated them to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter; leaving orders, that out of their revenues the money should be repaid, which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received intelligence that Flaccus, who was of the opposite faction, was elected consul; and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence against Mithridates, but in reality against himself. He therefore marched into Thessaly to meet him. When he arrived however at Melitea, information reached him from several quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waste by another army of the king's superior to the former. Dorylaüs was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over eighty thousand men of Mithridates' best-equipped and best-disciplined troops. With these he entered Bœotia, and made himself master of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaüs remonstrated, indeed, against the measure; but Dorylaüs was so far from regarding him, that he scrupled not to assert, "So many myriads of men "could not have been lost without treachery." But Sylla soon turned back, and showed Dorylaüs how prudent was the advice which he had rejected, and what a proper sense it's author had of the Roman valour. Dorylaüs in fact himself, after some slight

[32] This fountain Pausanias informs us was so called, because Œdipus there washed off the blood, with which he was stained in the murther of his father Laïus. (ix. 18.) (L.)

By selecting his judges from the other cities of Greece, Sylla meant to insinuate his distrust of the competency of the Bœotians, who were indeed proverbially stupid.*

skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphosium, was the first to agree that action was not the thing to be pursued any longer, but that the war was to be spun out, and decided at last by dint of money.

The field of Orchomenus however, where they encamped, being most advantageous for those whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, gave fresh spirits to Archelaüs. For of all the plains of Bœotia this is the largest and most beautiful, extending without either tree or bush from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens, in which the river Melas is absorbed. That river rises under the walls of the city just mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from it's source. About the summer-solstice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the same nature; except that they are meagre and bear but little fruit. It's course is short, the greatest part of it soon disappearing in those dark and muddy fens. The rest falls into the river Cephisus, about the place where the water is bordered with such excellent canes for flutes [33].

The two armies being encamped opposite to each other, Archelaus did not venture to make any attempt. But Sylla began to cut trenches in several parts of the field, that he might if possible drive the enemy from the firm ground, which was so suitable for cavalry, and force them upon the morasses. The barbarians could not bear this, but upon the first signal from their generals rode fiercely up at full speed, and dispersed the labourers. The corps likewise, designed to support them, was put to flight. Sylla instantly leaped from his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and pushed through the middle of the fugitives toward the enemy, crying out; "Here, Romans, is the bed of "honour, in which I am to die. Do you, when you "are asked where you betrayed your general, re-"member to say, 'It was at Orchomenus.'" These

[33] For an account of these canes see the Life of Lysander, p. 224. note (50).*

words stopped them in their flight: besides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his assistance, and at the head of this united corps he repulsed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little, to give his troops some refreshment; after which he again brought them to work, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the barbarians. Upon this, they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, son-in-law to Archelaüs, fell gloriously, as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers however were charged so close by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows; and they therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they used instead of swords, and with them killed several of their adversaries. But at last they were broken and shut up in their camp, where they passed the night in great misery, on account of their dead and wounded. The next morning, Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the barbarians advanced to engage him, he attacked and routed them so effectually, that in their terror none of them made a stand to guard the camp, and he entered it along with them. The fens were then filled with the blood of the slain, and the lake with dead bodies; insomuch that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians (bows, helmets, fragments of iron breast-plates, and swords) are found buried in the mud, though it is almost two hundred years since the battle. Such is the account, which we have of the actions at Chæronea and Orchomenus.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with so much rigour and injustice at Rome, to persons of the highest distinction, that many in order to avoid their tyranny retired to Sylla's camp, as to a safe harbour; so that, in a short time, he had a kind of senate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, stole from Rome with his children, and came to tell him that his enemies had burnt his house and all his villas, and to entreat him to return home where his assistance was so much

wanted. Upon this he was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither enduring to neglect his afflicted country, nor knowing how to go and leave such an important object as the Mithridatic war in it's present unfinished state; when he was addressed by a merchant of Delium[34], named Archelaüs, on the part of the general of that name, who wished to sound him as to an accommodation, and to treat privately about it's conditions.

Sylla was so charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with the general. Their interview was on the sea-coast near Delium, where stands the celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaüs proposed that Sylla should quit the Asiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war; engaging on the king's behalf to supply him with money, vessels, and troops. Sylla in reply suggested that Archelaüs should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of 'an Ally to the Romans,' and put the royal shipping into his hands. When Archelaüs expressed his detestation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded; "Is it possible then "that you Archelaüs, a Cappadocian, the slave (or, "if you please, the friend) of a barbarous king, should "be shocked at a proposal which, however in some "respects exceptionable, must be attended with the "most advantageous consequences? Is it possible "that to me, the Roman general, to Sylla, you should "take upon you to talk of treachery? As if you were "not that same Archelaüs, who at Chæronea fled "with a handful of men, the poor remains of a hun-"dred and twenty thousand, hid himself two days "in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the roads "of Bœotia blocked up with heaps of dead bodies." Upon this, Archelaüs had recourse to entreaty, and begged at last a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions: Mithridates was to

[34] A city of Bœotia, near Tanagra.

give up Asia and Paphlagonia, to cede Bithynia to Nicomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and was farther to allow the Romans two thousand talents to defray the expenses of the war, beside seventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla, on the other hand, was to secure Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and to procure him the title of 'Friend and Ally to the Romans.'

These conditions being mutually ratified between them, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedon toward the Hellespont. Archelaüs, who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect; and when he happened to fall sick at Larissa, Sylla halted there for some time, and showed him all the attention, which he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his collegue himself. This circumstance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little suspected, as if it had been unfairly gained; and what added to the suspicion was the restoring of all the prisoners of Mithridates' party except Aristion, the avowed enemy of Archelaüs, who was taken off by poison. But it's fullest confirmation was inferred from the cession of ten thousand acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title bestowed upon him of 'Friend and Ally to the Romans.' Sylla however, in his Commentaries, opposes all these censures.

During his stay at Larissa, he received an embassy from Mithridates, entreating him not to insist upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and representing that the demand of the shipping was inadmissible. Sylla heard these remonstrances with indignation: "What," said he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, "and refuse to send the vessels which I demanded? "Mithridates, whom I should have expected to im-"plore me on his knees, that I would spare that "right-hand, which had slain so many Romans? But "I am satisfied that, when I return to Asia, he will "change his stile. While he resides at Pergamus, "he can direct at ease the war which he has never be-"held." With this indignant answer, the embassa-

dors were struck dumb, while Archelaüs endeavoured to sooth and appease Sylla's anger by every mitigating expression, and bathing his hand with his tears. At length, he prevailed upon the Roman general to send him to Mithridates, assuring him that he would obtain his final ratification of all the articles, or perish in the attempt.

Sylla upon this assurance dismissed him, and invaded Medica[35], where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedon. At Philippi, he received Archelaüs, who informed him that he had succeeded perfectly well in his negociation, but that Mithridates was extremely desirous of an interview. His reason for it was the following: Fimbria who had slain the consul Flaccus, one of the heads of the opposite faction, and defeated the king's general, was now marching against Mithridates himself. Mithridates, alarmed at this, wished to form a friendship with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus, in the Troäd. Mithridates came with two hundred galleys, an army of twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had only four cohorts, and two hundred horse. Mithridates advanced, and held out his hand; but Sylla first asked him, "Whether he would confirm the conditions, which "Archelaüs had settled with him?" The king hesitated upon it, and Sylla then said, "It is for petitioners to speak first, and for conquerors to listen "in silence." Mithridates upon this began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologise for himself, by throwing the blame partly upon the gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him. "I have often," said he, "heard that "Mithridates was a good orator; but now I know it "by experience, since he has been able to give a "colour to such unjust and abominable transac"tions." He then unanswerably and in the bitterest

[35] A province of Thrace. See Strabo vii.*

terms arraigned the king's shameful conduct, and in conclusion again asked him, "Whether he would "abide by the conditions settled with Archelaüs?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and saluted him. He subsequently presented to him the two kings, Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him seventy of his ships and five hundred archers, sailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived, that his troops were much offended at the peace: they thought it insufferable that a prince who, of all the kings in the universe, was the most inveterate enemy to Rome, and had caused a hundred and fifty thousand Romans to be murthered in Asia in one day, should go off with the wealth and the spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and oppressing for four years. But he excused himself to them by observing, that they should never have been able to carry on the war against both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From Philippi he marched against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira[36]; and, having marked out a camp very near him, began the entrenchment. The soldiers of Fimbria came out in their vests, saluted those of Sylla, and readily assisted them in their work. Fimbria observing this desertion, and dreading Sylla, moreover, as an implacable enemy, despatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents; and, beside this, the houses of private persons were ruined by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers, whom he quartered upon them. For he commanded every householder to give the soldier who lodged with him sixteen drachmas a day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have fifty

[36] This was a city of Lydia, not far from Sardis, originally colonised by the Macedonians.*

drachmas a day and two robes, one to wear within doors, and another in public.

These things arranged, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbour of Piræus on the third day. At Athens, he got himself initiated in the Mysteries of Ceres; and from that city he took with him the library of Apellicon the Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not sufficiently known to the world[37]. When they were brought to Rome, Tyrannio the grammarian (it is said) prepared many of them for publication[38], and Andronicus the Rhodian, procuring the manuscripts by his means, actually published them, together with those indexes which are now in every body's hands. The old Peripatetics appear, indeed, to have been men of curiosity and erudition: but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus' books, nor were those which they had met with correct; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus bequeathed his works, fell into mean and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful and heavy numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls 'the lisping of the gout.' This obliged him to sail to Ædepsus, for the benefit of the warm baths[39], where he lounged away the day with mimics, and buf-

[37] For the history of these books, see Diog. Laërt. Life of Theophrastus, v. 52. Strabo xiii., Athen. v. 14. Tyrannio, mentioned below, was made prisoner in the war between Augustus and Antony, and became the slave of Cicero's wife Terentia, who gave him his liberty. Strabo, as he himself informs us, was one of his pupils.*

[38] The Latin interpreter renders σκευάσασθαι *intervertisse*, and Dacier *détourna*, both which signify 'converted to his own use:' but they are certainly wrong. It is Αποσκευασασθαι, which has that sense. Besides, both Cicero and Strabo give Tyrannio a character, which sets him above any meanness.

[39] The warm baths of this Eubœan city are described by Plutarch in his Moral Works, and mentioned more than once by Strabo. There was also a very celebrated cold bath, according to Athenæus, iii. 1., at the same place.*

foons, and all the train of Bacchus. One day, as he was walking by the sea-side, some fishermen presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people, "Of what "country they were?" and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any of the "Alæans then alive?" For after his victory at Orchomenus, in taking vengeance upon his enemies he had rased three cities of Bœotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alææ. The poor men were struck dumb with fear, but he told them with a smile; "They might depart in perfect security, for they "had brought very respectable mediators with them." From that time the Alæans inform us, they took courage, and re-established themselves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, passed through Thessaly and Macedon to the sea, intending to cross over from Dyrrachium [40] to Brundusium with a fleet of twelve hundred sail. In that neighbourhood stands Apollonia, near which is a sacred spot of ground called Nymphæum [41]. The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interspersed with springs from which continually issues fire. In this place we are told, a satyr was táken asleep, exactly like those which statuaries and painters represent to us [42]. When brought to Sylla, he was interrogated in many languages who he was, but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harsh and inar-

[40] Called also anciently Epidamnus (*hod.* Durazzo), in Albania, a province of Turkey in Europe. Brundusium was an Italian seaport, near Tarentum.*

[41] In this place the nymphs had an oracle, about the manner of consulting which Dion (xli. 45.) relates several ridiculous stories. Ælian likewise (Hist. Var. xiii. 16.) gives a description of it. Strabo, in his seventh book, informs us the Nymphæum is a rock, out of which issues fire, and that beneath it flow streams of flaming bitumen. (See also Plin., H. N. ii. 106.)

[42] One of these horned gentry, M. Ricard informs us, was actually taken in Le Maine in 1599, and carried to Henry IV.; and upon some such monster has the whole theory of satyrs been founded by the poets.*

ticulate, something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was shocked with his appearance, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence.

When he was upon the point of embarking with his troops, he began to be afraid that, as soon as they reached Italy, they would disperse and retire to their respective cities. Upon this they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they would stand by him to the last, and not wilfully do any damage to Italy. And, as they saw he would want large sums of money, they went and brought him each as much as he could afford. He did not however receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraged them to hope the best, he set sail. He had to advance, as he himself informs us, against fifteen generals of the opposite party, who had under them not less than two hundred and fifty cohorts. But heaven gave him evident tokens of success. Immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, he offered sacrifice; and the liver of the victim had the plain impression[43] of a crown of laurel, with two strings hanging down. A little before his passage, there were seen in the day-time upon Mount Hephæum[44] in Campania two large he-goats engaged, which used all the movements that men do in fighting. The phenomenon raised itself by degrees from the earth into the air, where it dispersed in the manner of shadowy phantoms, and totally disappeared.

[43] The priest traced on his hand whatever figures he chose, and by holding it very close to the liver, easily made the impression upon it while it was warm and pliant. (L.) Agesilaus, by the same trick, inscribed the word 'Victory' on the liver of one of his victims, to the effectual encouragement of his troops, who were dismayed by the numbers of the enemy.'

[44] There is no such mountain as 'Hephæum' known. Livy (vii. 29.) mentions the hills of Tifata, which in the Greek might perhaps be ΤΙΦΑΙΟΝ (with it's two first letters not unlike the H of the received reading), near Capua, *hod.* Monte di Capoua. They are, likewise, to be found in Festus. And it was to Capua, we find, that Sylla compelled Norbanus to retire.*

A little while after this, young Marius and Norbanus the consul, with two very powerful bodies, ventured to attack Sylla; who without any regular disposition of his troops or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuosity of his soldiers, after having slain seven thousand of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to seek refuge within the walls of Capua. This success he mentions as the cause, why his soldiers did not desert, but despised the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers. He states, moreover, that an inspired servant of Pontius met him in the town of Silvium, and upon the authority of Bellona pronounced him victorious; but informed him at the same time that, if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burnt. This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the sixth of July [45]. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had only sixteen cohorts under his command, found himself on the point of engaging near Fidentia [46] an enemy with fifty; and, though he had the utmost confidence in the valour of his troops, yet as many of them were without complete armour, he hesitated with respect to the onset. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighbouring field a quantity of flowers which covered the shields and helmets of the soldiers in such a manner, that they seemed crowned with garlands. This circumstance had such an effect upon them [47], that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed eighteen

[45] Upon the different fires, by which the Capitol suffered, see the Life of Publicola, Vol. I. not. (42.) &c.*

[46] *Hod.* Borgo San Donnino, between Parma and Placentia.*

[47] The use which the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthusiasm and superstition, particularly in war, was so great, and so frequent, that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native courage and valour. The slightest circumstance (as in the improbable instance referred to) of a preternatural kind, or bearing the least shadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to exploits which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them, without such influence they would never have undertaken.*

thousand, and became complete masters of the field and of the camp. This Marcus Lucullus was the brother of that Lucullus, who subsequently conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

Sylla still saw himself surrounded with armies and powerful enemies, to whom he was inferior in point of force, and he therefore had recourse to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the consuls, proposals for an accommodation, upon which many interviews and conferences ensued. But Sylla, constantly finding some pretext for gaining time, was all the while corrupting Scipio's soldiers by means of his own, who were as well practised as their general in every art of solicitation. They entered their adversaries' camp, and mixing among them soon gained them over; some by direct bribery, some by fair promises, and some by the most insinuating adulation. At last Sylla advancing to their entrenchments with twenty cohorts, Scipio's men saluted them as fellow-soldiers, and came out, and joined them; so that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately afterward dismissed in safety. These twenty cohorts were Sylla's decoy-birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them altogether into his camp. Upon this occasion, Carbo is reported to have said that, "In Sylla he "had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the "fox caused him the greatest trouble."

The year following, at Signium[48] young Marius, with fourscore and five cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it on that day in particular, from a dream which he had had the night before. He thought he saw old Marius, who had now been long dead, advising his son to beware of the ensuing day, as big with mischief to him. This made Sylla impatient for the combat. The first step which he took with this view was to send

[48] On the Via Latina, about thirty miles from Rome; Appian says, this action happened at Elium, a neighbouring city.*

for Dolabella, then encamped at some distance. The enemy had blocked up the roads; and Sylla's troops were extremely harassed in endeavouring to open them. Besides, a violent rain happened to fall, and still more incommoded them in their work. Upon which, the officers went and entreated Sylla to defer the battle till another day, showing him his men quite exhausted with fatigue, and seated on the ground upon their shields. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to entrench themselves.

They had just began to put these orders into execution, when Marius rode boldly up, in hopes of finding them dispersed and in disorder. Fortune seized this moment for accomplishing Sylla's dream. His soldiers fired with indignation left their work, stuck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn swords and loud shouts ran to the charge. The enemy, after a slight resistance, were routed, and vast numbers fell in the flight. Marius himself fled to Præneste, where he found the gates shut; but a rope was let down, to which he fastened himself, and was thus drawn up over the wall.

Some authors indeed (and, among the rest, Fenestella) write, that Marius saw nothing of the battle; but that being oppressed with watching and fatigue, he lay down in a shade, after the signal was given, and was not awaked without difficulty when all was lost. Sylla says, he lost only three and twenty men in this battle, though he killed ten thousand of the enemy, and took eight thousand prisoners. He was equally successful with respect to his lieutenants Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius; who with no miscarriage at all, or with none of any consequence, defeated considerable bodies of the enemy; insomuch that Carbo, who was the chief support of the opposite party, stole out of his camp by night, and passed over into Africa.

Sylla's last conflict was with Telesinus the Samnite, who entered the lists like a fresh champion against

one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Telesinus, with the assistance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, had collected a large force; and was hastening to the relief of Marius, who was besieged in Præneste. But he received intelligence, that Sylla and Pompey were advancing against him by long marches, the one to take him in front and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmost danger of being hemmed in both before and behind. In this case, like a man of great abilities and experience of the most critical kind, he decamped by night and marched with his whole army directly toward Rome, which was in so unguarded a condition that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he stopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate, and contented himself with passing the night before the walls, highly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone so many eminent commanders in point of generalship.

Early the next morning, the young nobility mounted their horses, and fell upon him. He defeated them, however, and killed a considerable number; among the rest Appius Claudius, a young man of spirit, and of one of the most illustrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confusion; the women ran about the streets, bewailing themselves, as if it were just going to be taken by assault; when Balbus, who had been sent before by Sylla, appeared advancing at full speed with seven hundred cavalry. He stopped just long enough to give the horses time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to attack the enemy.

In the mean time, Sylla made his appearance; and, having caused his first ranks to take a hasty refreshment, began to marshal them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus pressed him to wait some time; and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement, which must prove decisive. For he had now to do not with Carbo and Marius but

with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies of the Roman name. He over-ruled their motion however, and ordered the trumpets to sound to the charge, though it was now so late as the tenth hour of the day [49]. There was no battle, during the whole war, fought with so much obstinacy. The right wing commanded by Crassus, had greatly the advantage; but the left was much distressed, and began to give way. Sylla made up to it's assistance. He rode a white horse of uncommon spirit and swiftness; and two of the enemy, knowing him by it, levelled their spears at him. He himself did not perceive it, but his groom did, and with a sudden lash made the horse spring forward, so that the spears only grazed his tail and fixed themselves in the ground. It is said, that in all his battles he wore in his bosom a small golden image of Apollo, which he had brought from Delphi. Upon this occasion he kissed it with particular devotion [50], and addressed it in these terms: "O Pythian Apollo, "who hast conducted the fortunate Cornelius Sylla "through so many engagements with honour, when "thou hast brought him to the threshold of his "country, wilt thou let him fall there ingloriously "by the hands of his own citizens?"

After this act of devotion, he endeavoured to rally his men: some he entreated, some he threatened, and some he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having lost many of his friends of the highest distinction. A great number likewise of those, who had come out of the city to see the battle, were trodden under foot and perished. Nay, Rome itself was thought to be absolutely lost; and the siege of

[49] That is, reckoning with the Romans from six o'clock in the morning, as the beginning of their day, four o'clock in the afternoon.

[50] By this it appears, that the Romans made the same use of the [illegible]s of their gods, as the Romanists do of images and reliques.

Præneste, where Marius had taken up his quarters, was near being raised. For, after the defeat, many of the fugitives repaired thither; and desired Lucretius Ofella, who had the direction of the siege, to quit it immediately, as Sylla (they affirmed) was slain, and his enemies masters of Rome.

But the same evening, when it was quite dark, messengers arrived at Sylla's camp on the part of Crassus, to desire refreshments for himself and his soldiers. For he had defeated the enemy, and pursued them to Antemna [51], where he was then besieging them. Along with this intelligence Sylla learned, that the chief part of the hostile force had been cut off in the action. As soon therefore as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. Three thousand of the opposite faction sent deputies to him, to intercede for mercy; and he promised them impunity, upon condition that they would come to him after some notable effort against the rest of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were slain by the hands of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla however collected these and what was left of the others, to the number of six thousand, into the Circus [52], and at the same time assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his soldiers (as they had been ordered) fell upon those six thousand poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of such a number of people, massacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was most dreadful. The senators were struck with astonishment. But he, with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his discourse, bade them "Attend "to what he was saying, and not trouble themselves "about what was doing without; for the noise,

[51] A city in the country of the Sabines, which was one of the first enemies of infant Rome. Liv. i. 10, 11.*

[52] Of these, there were several at Rome: but the one most celebrated was that constructed by Tarquinius Priscus.*

"which they heard, came only from some male-
"factors, whom he had ordered to be chastised."

It was hence evident to the least discerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny, but had only changed their tyrant. Marius indeed from the first was of a harsh and severe disposition, and power did not produce, but only added to his cruelty. Whereas Sylla, at the beginning, bore prosperity with great courtesy and moderation: though he seemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought that he would protect the rights of the people: he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate, that he readily melted into tears. This change in him, therefore, could not but cast a blemish upon power. From his example, it was inferred that high honours and fortunes will not suffer men's manners to remain in their original simplicity; but that it begets in them insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce such a change of disposition, or whether it only displays the native badness of the heart, belongs however to another department of letters to inquire.

Sylla, now turning himself to kill and to destroy, filled the city with massacres, which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many persons, against whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At last one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put these questions to him in the senate: "Tell us,
"Sylla, when we shall have an end of our calami-
"ties? How far thou wilt proceed, and when we
"may hope thou wilt stop? We ask thee not to
"spare those, whom thou hast marked out for
"punishment; but we do ask an exemption from
"anxiety for those, whom thou hast determined to
"save." Sylla said, "He did not yet know, whom
"he should save." "Then," replied Metellus,
"let us know, whom thou intendest to destroy;"

and Sylla answered, "He would do it." Some indeed ascribe the last reply to Aufidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, without in the least consulting any of the magistrates, he proscribed eighty citizens. And, as the public expressed their indignation, the second day following he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and as many on the third. He then told the people from the Rostrum, "He "had now proscribed all that he remembered, and "such as he had forgotten must be included in "some future proscription." Death was the punishment ordained for any one, who should harbour or save a person proscribed, without excepting even a brother, a son, or a parent. Such was to be the recompence of humanity! But two talents were to be the reward of assassination, whether it were a slave who killed his master, or a son his father. The most unjust circumstance however of the whole seemed to be, that he declared the sons and grandsons of proscribed persons infamous, and confiscated their goods.

The lists were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither the temple of the gods, nor the paternal dwelling, nor the hearth of hospitality, was any protection against murther. Husbands were despatched in the bosoms of their wives, and sons in those of their mothers. And those, who fell sacrifices to resentment and revenge, were as nothing, compared with the numbers destroyed on account of their wealth. So that it was a common saying among the ruffians, "His "fine house was the death of such a one, his "gardens of another, and his hot baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius a quiet man, who thought he could have no share in those miseries, but that which compassion gave him, came one day into the Forum, and out of curiosity read the names of the proscribed. There finding his own among the rest, he cried out, 'Wretch that I am! my Alban villa

"pursues me;" and had not gone far, before a ruffian came up and murthered him.

In the mean time, young Marius being taken[53] slew himself. Sylla then came to Præneste, where at first he tried the inhabitants, and had them executed singly. But afterward finding that he had not leisure for such formalities, he collected them all to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be put to death; excepting only one, who had formerly entertained him at his house. This man with a noble spirit told him, "He would never owe his "life to the destroyer of his country;" and, voluntarily mixing with the crowd, died with his fellow-citizens. The strangest, however, of all his proceedings was that with respect to Catiline. This wretch had assassinated his own brother during the civil war, and he now desired Sylla to put him among the proscribed, as a person still alive; which he made no difficulty of doing. Catiline in return went and killed one Marcus Marius who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla as he sat upon his tribunal in the Forum, and then washed his hands in the lustral water[54] at the door of Apollo's temple, which was close by.

These massacres were not the only thing which afflicted the Romans. Sylla declared himself dictator[55], reviving that office in his own favour, though there had been no instance of it for a hundred and twenty years. He got a decree of amnesty for all that he had done; and another investing him for the future with the power of life and death, of

[53] He was not taken: but, as he was endeavouring to make his escape by a subterraneous passage, he found it beset by Sylla's soldiers; upon which, he ordered one of his slaves to kill him. See Paterc. ii. 27., and Val. Max. vi. 8.

[54] Here is another instance of a heathen custom adopted by the Romanists: an exclusion from the use of this holy water was considered by the Greeks as a sort of excommunication. We find Œdipus prohibiting it to the murtherers of Laius. (Soph. Œd Tyr. a. 1.)

[55] See Suppl. Liv. lxxxix. 8.

confiscating, of colonising, of building or demolishing cities, and of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure. This power he exercised in such an insolent and despotic manner, with regard to confiscated goods, that his sales of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiscations themselves. Upon handsome prostitutes, and harpers, and buffoons, and the most wicked of his enfranchised slaves he bestowed the revenues of whole cities and provinces; and he even compelled women of condition to marry some of those ruffians.

He was ambitious of an alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce his wife in order to marry Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio, by whom she was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in child-bed in the house of Pompey her second husband*.

Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged Marius in Præneste, now aspired to the consulship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla forbade him to proceed; and when he saw that brave man enter the Forum, attended by great numbers, as a candidate, he sent one of his centurions to despatch him, while he himself sat on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murther. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. But commanding silence, he informed them that the thing was done by his order, and that the centurion therefore must immediately be dismissed.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the display of wealth, and of a new spectacle in the royal spoils; but what crowned all, was the procession of the exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla 'their Saviour and Father,' because through him they had been enabled

* See the Life of Pompey in the sequel of this work.

to return to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was finished, he gave an account of his great actions in a set speech to the people, and was not less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune, than those of his valour. He even concluded with an order, that for the future he should be called Felix, that is, 'the Fortunate.' But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to their applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus [56]. The inscription upon the trophies left among us is, 'Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus.' And to the twins, whom he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which in the Roman language signify 'Auspicious, and Happy.'

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune, than in his achievements, was his laying down the dictatorship [57]. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, violated the constitution, and revolutionised the form of government, he had the hardiness to give the people full power to choose consuls again; while he himself, without pretending to any direction of their suffrages, walked about the Forum as a private man, and left it in the power of any person to take his life. In the very first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterprising man, likely to be declared consul; not by his own interest, but by that of Pompey, who upon this occasion exerted himself with the people. And, when he saw Pompey going off elated with his victory, he called to him and said, "No doubt, young man, "your politics are most excellent; since you have "gotten Lepidus named before Catulus *, the vilest "of men before the best. It is high time for you to "awake, now that you have strengthened your ad-

[56] 'The favourite of Venus.' *

[57] After having held it for three years, from A U.C. 672—675.

* Lepidus and Catulus were joint consuls, A. U. C. 676. See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV. *

"versary against yourself." Sylla spoke this from something like a prophetic spirit; for Lepidus soon afterward acted with the utmost insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenth of his substance to Hercules[58]. The provisions were so over-abundant that a large quantity was daily thrown into the river; and the wine, which was drunk, was at least forty years old. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, and to have his house defiled with mourning, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was still in her body. His superstition made him very punctilious in observing these laws of the priests; but by indulging the utmost profusion, he transgressed a law of his own, which limited the expense of funerals. He broke in upon his own sumptuary law likewise with respect to diet, by passing his time in the most extravagant banquets, and having recourse to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months afterward, he presented the people with a show of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty and of one of the best families happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, the sister of the orator Hortensius, of the name of Valeria, and had been lately divorced from her husband. This woman coming behind Sylla touched him, took off a little of the nap of his robe, and immediately returned to her place. He fixed his eyes on her, quite amazed at her familiarity; upon which she said, "Wonder "not, my lord, at what I have done, I only wished "to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being displeased; on the contrary, he ap-

[58] Plutarch, in one of his Moral Treatises (Quæst. Rom.) has investigated the origin of this custom.*

peared agreeably tickled by it: for he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an interchange of amorous glances and ogles and smiles, which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things which are wont to excite the lowest and most worthless of the passions.

Yet, notwithstanding he had married so extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a company of buffoons. His chief favourites at this time were Roscius the comedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius who used to act a woman's part[59], for whom (though past his prime) he ever retained a professed kindness. These courses added strength to a distemper, which was but slight at the beginning; for he was long ignorant, that he had an abscess within him. This abscess corrupted his flesh, and turned it all into lice; so that, though he had many persons employed both day and night to clean him, the part removed was trifling compared with what remained. His whole attire, his baths, his basons, and his food, were filled with a perpetual flux of vermin and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanse and purify himself, it was all in vain. The corruption gained upon him so fast, that it was impossible by any remedies to overcome it.

Of this sickness, we are told, among the ancients, Acastus, the son of Pelias, died; and of those nearer our own times Alcman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes the Olynthian who was kept close prison, and Mucius the lawyer[60]. And if

Λυσιαδος. See Athen. xiv. 4. Sylla's Phthiriasis, mentioned ...ow, is questioned by Dr. Shaw, in his Nat. Miscell.*

60 Speusippus also, Plato's nephew and successor in the Aca-

after these we may mention a man, who did not distinguish himself by any thing laudable, but acquired notoriety a different way, it may be added that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled the Servile War in Sicily, and was subsequently taken and carried to Rome, died there of this disease.

Sylla not only foresaw his death, but has left something relating to it in his writings. He finished the twenty-second book of his Commentaries, only two days before he died: and the Chaldæans, he informs us, had predicted that after a life of glory he would depart in the height of his prosperity. He farther acquaints us, that his son who died a little before Metella appeared to him in a dream, dressed in a mean garment, and desired him to bid adieu to his cares and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he should live at ease and enjoy the charms of tranquillity. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death, that he reconciled the contending parties of Puteoli[61], and gave them a set of laws for the regulation of their police. And the very day before he died, upon information that the quæstor Granius would not pay what he owed to the state, but waited for his death to avoid paying it at all, he sent for him into his apartment, placed his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him. The violence, with which he spoke, strained him so much that the imposthume broke, and he voided a great quantity of blood. His strength now failed fast, and after he had passed the night in extreme agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella, and Valeria after his death was delivered of a daughter called Posthuma; a name

demy, is said by Diog. Laërt. to have died of the same disease. But the passage is a suspected one. Of the slave Eunus, mentioned below, Florus (iii. 19.) has sketched a hideous portrait. The Servile War took place, A. U. C. 619, and continued three years.*

[61] In the Greek 'Dicæarchia,' which is another name for 'Puteoli,' (L.) so called on account of it's numerous wells, or the sulphureous stench of it's hot waters.*

given, of course, by the Romans to such as are born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus, to prevent his having the usual honours of burial: but Pompey, though he was somewhat displeased at Sylla, because of all his friends he had left him alone out of his will, interposed and prevailed upon some by his interest and entreaties, and upon others by menaces, to drop their opposition. He then conveyed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral not only with security, but with honour. Such was the quantity of spices brought in by the women, that exclusive of those carried in two hundred and ten large baskets, a full-length figure of Sylla, and of a lictor besides, was formed entirely of cinnamon and frankincense. The day happened to be so cloudy, and the rain was so much expected, that it was about the ninth hour[62] before the corpse was carried out. It was no sooner laid upon the pile, however, than a brisk wind blew, and raised so strong a flame that it was immediately consumed. But after the pile was burnt down, and the fire began to decay, a heavy rain fell which lasted till night. So that his good fortune continued to the last, and assisted at his funeral. His monument stands in the Campus Martius; and he wrote an epitaph for himself, we are informed, to the following purport: "No friend ever did me so much good, or enemy so much harm, but I repaid him with interest."

LYSANDER AND SYLLA

COMPARED.

WE have now gone through the Life of Sylla, and will proceed to our comparison.

62 Three in the afternoon.

This then Lysander and he have in common, that they were entirely indebted to themselves for their elevation. But Lysander has this advantage, that the high offices which he gained were with the consent of the people, while the constitution of his country was in a sound and healthy state; and that he got nothing by force, or by acting against the laws: whereas

In civil broils the worst emerge to honour;

And so it was at that time in Rome. The people were so corrupt, and the republic in so sickly a condition, that tyrants sprung up on every side. Neither is it any subject of wonder, that Sylla gained the ascendency at a period, when wretches like Glaucias and Saturninus expelled such men as Metellus, when the sons of consuls were murthered in the public assemblies, when men supported their seditious purposes with soldiers purchased by money, and laws were enacted with fire and sword and every species of violence[1].

In such a state of things, I do not blame the man who raised himself to supreme power; but neither do I admit that, when the commonwealth was in so depraved a condition, power was any evidence of merit. As the laws however and public virtue never flourished more at Sparta, than when Lysander was sent upon the highest and most important commissions, we may conclude that he was worthiest among the worthy, and greatest among the great. Thus the one, though he often surrendered the command, had it as often restored to him by his fellow-citizens; because his virtue, which alone has a claim to the prize of honour, continued still unvaried[2]. The

[1] We need no other instance than this, to show that a republican government will never do in corrupt times.

[2] What kind of virtue can Plutarch possibly ascribe to Lysander? Unless, indeed, he means military virtue. He was, undoubtedly, a man of the greatest duplicity and profaneness: for he corrupted

other, after he was once appointed general, usurped the command and kept in arms for ten years; sometimes stiling himself consul, sometimes proconsul, and sometimes dictator, but being always in reality a tyrant.

Lysander, it is true (as we have observed above), attempted a change in the Spartan constitution, but he took a milder and more legal method than Sylla. It was by persuasion[3], not by arms, that he proceeded; neither did he seek to overturn every thing at once. He only wanted to correct the establishment, as to kings. And indeed it seemed natural that in a state, which had the supreme direction of Greece on account of its virtue, rather than any other superiority, merit should gain the sceptre. For as the hunter and the jockey do not so much consider the breed[4], as the dog or horse already bred (for what, if the foal should prove a mule?), so the politician would entirely miss his aim[5], if he examined not the qualities, but the quality, of the person proposed for first magistrate. Thus the Spartans deposed some of their kings, because they had not kingly talents, but were worthless and disreputable. Vice, even with high birth, is dishonourable: and the honour, which virtue enjoys, is all her own; family has no share in it.

the priests, and prostituted the honour of the gods, to gratify his personal envy and ambition.

[3] It was by hypocrisy, by profane and impious expedients.

[4] And yet this forms a great part of the principle of modern improvements in the inferior animals.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,

(Hor. Od. IV iv. 29)

is the maxim at Woburn and Holkam. With regard to the higher creature man, however, it must be qualified by a reference to the times. In days of extreme refinement, the language of Juvenal in his eighth satire is usually, it is to be feared, more correct:

At vos, Trojugenæ, vobis ignoscitis; et quæ
Turpia cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt (182)*

[5] Upon this passage we meet with a remark in Dacier, which characterises more the Frenchman of ancient times, than those of the present period: 'Let the kings be good or bad, the people are bound to submit!'

They were both guilty of injustice; but Lysander in favour of his friends, and Sylla in opposition to his. Most of Lysander's frauds were committed in behalf of his creatures; and it was to advance them to high stations and absolute power, that he dipped his hands in so much blood: whereas Sylla envied Pompey the army and Dolabella the naval command, which he had bestowed upon them, and attempted to take them away. And, when Lucretius Ofella after the greatest and most faithful services solicited the consulship, he ordered him to be despatched before his eyes. Terror and dismay seized all the world, when they saw one of his best friends thus murthered.

If we consider their behaviour with respect to riches and pleasure, we shall find one the prince, and the other the tyrant. When the power and authority of Lysander were at their height, he was not guilty of a single act of intemperance or youthful dissipation. He, if any man, avoided the sting of that proverb:

'Lions within doors, foxes still without.'

So sober, and regular, and truly Spartan was his manner of living. Sylla, on the other hand, neither let poverty set bounds to his passions in his youth, nor years in his age. But, as Sallust says[6], while he was giving his countrymen laws for the regulation of marriages and the promotion of sobriety, he indulged himself in adultery and every species of lust.

By his debaucheries he so drained the public treasures, that he was obliged to permit many cities, in alliance and friendship with Rome, to purchase independence and the privilege of being governed by their own laws; though, at the same time, he was daily confiscating the richest and best houses in

[6] In a passage not now extant, most probably forming part of his Roman History, of which only a few fragments at present remain.*

Rome. Still more immense were the sums, which he squandered upon his flatterers. What bounds or moderation indeed could be expected in his private gifts, when his heart was dilated with wine, if we attend but to a single instance of his public behaviour? One day as he was selling a considerable estate, which he wished a friend to obtain at an under-price, another offered more; and the crier proclaiming the advance, he turned with indignation to the people, and exclaimed; "What outrage "and tyranny is this, my friends, that I am not al"lowed to dispose of my own spoils as I please!"

Far from such rapaciousness, Lysander to the spoils which he sent his countrymen added his own share. Not that in this I think him worthy of praise: for perhaps he hurt Sparta more essentially by the money, which he brought into it, than Sylla did Rome by what he took from it. I only mention it, as a proof of the little regard, which he had for riches. It was something very particular however that Sylla, while he abandoned himself to all the profusion of luxury and expense, should bring the Romans to sobriety: whereas Lysander subjected the Spartans to those passions, which in himself he restrained. The former acted worse than his own laws directed, and the other brought his people to act worse than himself: for he filled Sparta with the love of that, which he himself knew how to despise. Such they were, in their political capacity.

As to military achievements and acts of generalship, the number of victories gained and of dangers encountered, Sylla is beyond comparison. Lysander indeed obtained two naval victories, to which we may add his taking of Athens; for, though that affair was not difficult in it's execution, it was glorious in it's consequences. As to his miscarriage in Bœotia and at Haliartus, ill-fortune perhaps had some concern in it, but it was principally owing to indiscretion; since he would not wait for the great reinforcement, which the king was bringing from

Platææ, and which was upon the point of joining him, but with an ill-timed resentment and ambition marched up to the walls. Hence it happened, that he was slain by some troops of no consideration, who sallied out to the attack. He fell not by an honourable wound, as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, making head against an impetuous enemy; nor like Cyrus[7], or Epaminondas, as he was rallying his men and ensuring to them the victory. These illustrious men died the death of kings, and of generals. But Lysander threw away his life ingloriously, like a common soldier or a partisan. By his death he evinced the judgement of the ancient Spartans, in not choosing to fight against stone-walls, where the bravest man in the world may be killed (I will not say, by an insignificant man, but) by a child, or a woman. Thus Achilles is said to have been slain by Paris, at the gates of Troy. On the other hand, so many pitched battles were won by Sylla, and so many myriads of enemies killed, that it is not easy to number them. Twice he took Rome itself[8], and the Piræus at Athens, not by famine (as Lysander had done) but by assault, after he had defeated Archelaüs in several great battles at land, and forced him to take refuge in his fleet.

It is a material point likewise to consider, what generals they had to oppose. I look upon it as mere trifling and child's play to have beaten Antiochus, who was only Alcibiades' pilot, and to have outwitted Philocles the Athenian demagogue,

A man whose tongue was sharpened, not his sword.

Mithridates would not have compared them with his groom, nor Marius with one of his lictors. But Sylla had to contend with princes, consuls, gene-

[7] Viz. The younger, warring against his brother Artaxerxes, B. C 401.*

[8] Whatever military merit he might display in other battles, he had certainly none in the taking of Rome: for it was not generalship, but necessity, which made it fall into his hands.

rals, and tribunes of the highest influence and abilities; and, to name but a few of them, who among the Romans was more formidable than Marius; among the kings, more powerful than Mithridates; or among the people of Italy, more warlike than Lamponius and Telesinus? Yet Sylla banished the first, subdued the second, and killed the other two.

What is of more consequence however, in my opinion, than any thing yet mentioned is, that Lysander was supported in all enterprises by his friends at home, and owed all his success to their assistance; whereas Sylla, a banished man overpowered by a faction, at a time when his enemies were expelling his wife, destroying his house, and putting his friends to death, fought the battles of his country on the plains of Bœotia against armies which could not be numbered, and was victorious in her cause. Nay, this was not all: Mithridates offered to second him with his whole power, and join him with all his forces against his enemies at Rome; yet he relaxed not the least in his demands, nor showed him the smallest countenance. He would not so much as return his salutation or give him his hand, till he had promised in person to relinquish Asia, to deliver up his ships, and to restore Bithynia and Cappadocia to their respective kings. There was nothing in the whole conduct of Sylla more glorious, or demonstrative of greater magnanimity. He preferred the public good to his own: like a dog of generous breed, he kept his hold till his adversary had yielded, and after that he turned to revenge his own cause.

The different methods, which they observed with respect to the Athenians, contribute not a little to mark their characters. Sylla, though they had borne arms against him for Mithridates, after he had taken their city, indulged them with their liberty and the privilege of their own laws: Lysander showed no compassion toward a people, previously so glorious and powerful, but abolished the popular govern-

ment, and set over them the most cruel and unjust of tyrants.

We shall not perhaps be far from the truth, if we conclude that in the life of Sylla there were more successes, and in that of Lysander fewer faults; if we assign to the Grecian the prize of temperance and prudence, and to the Roman that of valour and capacity for war.

THE

LIFE

OF

CIMON.

SUMMARY.

Peripoltas, the soothsayer, establishes himself at Chæronea. Damon conspires against the Roman commandant in that place, assassinates him, and flies: Is decoyed back, and despatched. The Chæroneans are accused of the murther committed by him, and acquitted on the evidence of Lucullus, to whom they erect a statue. Plutarch, wishing out of gratitude to write Lucullus' Life, determines to place him in parallel with Cimon.

Cimon's birth, youth, conduct, and character: Profligacy. Marriage of his sister. His fine qualities. He distinguishes himself at Salamis: engages in the administration of public affairs. Story of Cleonice. Cimon besieges Pausanias in Byzantium: Defeats the Persians of Eïon in Thrace, and takes possession of the whole district: and of the isle of Scyros. He carries Theseus' bones to Athens. His division of the spoils of Sestos, and Byzantium. His liberality, most disinterested. His conduct toward the allies, and it's success. He continues the war against the Persians, and gains a naval victory over them near the river Eurymedon. He subsequently vanquishes their land-army, and obtains a third victory over the Phœnician fleet. Treaty between the Athenians and the king of Persia. Athens enriched with the Persian spoils: It's embellishments. Cimon takes possession of the Thracian Chersonese, and of the Isle of Thasos; is impeached upon that occasion, and acquitted. During his absence from Athens, the people gain the ascendency: He is persecuted on his return. Mutual regard between Cimon and the Lacedæmonians. Earthquake at Lacedæ-

mon. Insurrection of the Helots. The Spartans demand succour from the Athenians: Cimon sent to their assistance. He is banished by the Ostracism, and recalled. He makes preparations to renew the war in Cyprus, and in Egypt; defeats the Persian fleet, and dies. His remains brought to Attica.

PERIPOLTAS the soothsayer[1], who conducted king Opheltas and his subjects from Thessaly into Bœotia, left a family that flourished for many years. The greatest part of them dwelt in Chæronea, where they first established themselves after the expulsion of the barbarians. But as they were of a gallant and martial turn, and never spared themselves in time of action, they fell in the wars with the Medes and the Gauls. There remained only a young orphan, named Damon, and surnamed Peripoltas. This boy, in beauty of person, and dignity of mind, far exceeded all his co-evals; but he was of a harsh temper, and unpolished by education.

He was now in the dawn of youth, when a Roman officer, who wintered with his company in Chæronea, conceived a criminal regard for him; and, as he found solicitations and presents of no avail, he was preparing to use force. He despised (it seems) our city, whose affairs were then in a wretched situation, and whose size and poverty rendered it an object of no importance. As Damon dreaded some violence, and besides was highly provoked at his past attempts, he formed a design against the officer's life, and drew some of his comrades into the scheme. The number was but small, that the matter might be more private; in fact, they were no more than sixteen.

[1] Plutarch here introduces an obscure and dirty story, for the sake of talking about the place of his nativity, (L.) Pausanias, ix. 5., makes no mention of these particulars; and from Diod. Sic. v. 65., it appears, that Opheltas was a Bœotian.*

One night they daubed their faces over with soot, after they had elevated themselves by drinking, and next morning fell upon the Roman, as he was sacrificing in the market-place. The moment they had killed him, and many of those who were about him, they fled out of the city. All was now in confusion. The senate of Chæronea met, and in order to excuse themselves to the Romans, condemned the assassins to death. But as the magistrates were supping together according to custom, Damon and his accomplices returned in the evening, broke into the town-hall, slew the whole party, and then a second time made their escape.

It happened that Lucius Lucullus, who was going upon some expedition, marched that way. Stopping to inquire into the affair, which was then quite recent, he found the city so far from having been accessary to the death of the Roman officer, that it was itself a considerable sufferer. He therefore withdrew the garrison, and took the soldiers along with him.

Damon for some time continued to commit depredations and robberies in the adjacent country, and greatly harassed the city. The Chæroneans endeavoured to decoy him, by frequent messages and decrees in his favour; and, when they had gotten him among them again, they appointed him master of the wrestling-ring: but they soon seized an opportunity of despatching him, as he was anointing himself in the bagnio. On that spot, our fathers inform us, for a long time certain spectres appeared, and sad groans were heard, for which reason the doors of the bagnio were walled up[2]. And to this very day the neighbourhood imagine they see strange sights, and are alarmed with doleful voices. There are some remains however of Damon's family, who

[2] This opinion, viz. that the scenes of murther are occasionally haunted by the ghosts of the victims, seems to have been of very ancient origin. Pliny has left a singular letter (vii. 27.) upon the subject.*

live mostly in the town of Stiris in Phocis. These are called according to the Æolic dialect 'Asbolomeni' (that is, 'Sooty-faced'), on account of their ancestor's having smeared his face with soot, when he engaged in the assassination.

The people of Orchomenus, who were neighbours to the Chæroneans, having some prejudice against them, hired a Roman informer to accuse the city of the murther of those, who had fallen by the hands of Damon and his associates; and to prosecute it, as if it had been an individual. The cause came before the governor of Macedon, for the Romans had not yet sent prætors into Greece[3]; and the persons, employed to plead for the city, appealed to the testimony of Lucullus. Upon this the governor wrote to Lucullus, who gave a true account of the affair, and thus rescued Chæronea from utter ruin.

Our forefathers, in gratitude for their preservation, erected a marble statue to Lucullus in the market-place, close by that of Bacchus. And, though many ages are since elapsed, we consider the obligation as extending downward even to ourselves. We are persuaded, likewise, that a representation of the body is not comparable to that of the mind and the manners; and therefore, in this work of Lives compared, we shall insert his. We shall, however, always adhere to the truth; and Lucullus will think himself sufficiently repaid by our perpetuating the memory of his actions[4]. He cannot want, in return

[3] This was a measure, however, which they adopted soon after the date of this affair. See Cic. in Pison. 36.*

[4] This was no less accurately, than nobly spoken. The name of Lucullus is chiefly embalmed by the biographer of Chæronea. So true is it, that

—Honour ever waits on virtuous deeds;
And, though a late, a sure reward succeeds.

These two Lives, of Cimon and Lucullus, are supposed to have been Plutarch's first pieces of biography: they appear certainly, from internal evidence, to have preceded those of Theseus and Romulus; but, in the arrangement of the MSS. and printed editions,

for his true testimony, a false and fictitious account of himself. When a painter has to draw a fine and elegant form, which happens to have some little blemish, we do not wish him entirely to pass over that blemish, nor yet to mark it with exactness. The one would spoil the beauty of the picture, and the other would destroy it's resemblance. So in our present work, since it is very difficult (or rather impossible) to find any life whatever without it's spots and blemishes, we must set the good qualities in full light with all the likeness of truth. But we consider the faults and stains, which proceed either from some sudden passion, or from political necessity, rather as defects of virtue, than signs of a bad heart; and shall therefore cast them a little into shade, in reverence as it were to human nature, which produces no specimen of virtue absolutely immaculate and unimpeachable.

In looking out for one, to place in comparison with Cimon, Lucullus seemed to us the most proper They were both of a warlike turn, and both distinguished themselves against the barbarians. They were both mild in their administration, and reconciled the contending factions in their country. They both gained great victories, and erected glorious trophies. No Grecian carried his arms to more distant countries than Cimon, no Roman than Lucullus. Hercules and Bacchus alone exceeded them; unless we add the expeditions of Perseus against the Æthiopians, Medes, and Armenians, and that of Jason against Colchis. But the scenes of these latter achievements are laid in such very ancient times, that we have some doubt whether the truth can have reached us. This also they have in common, that they equally left their wars unfinished; they both pulled their enemies down, but neither of them gave them their death's blow. The principal

attention was chiefly paid by the transcribers, &c. to considerations of chronology.*

mark, however, of likeness in their characters is, their affability and courtesy in doing the honours of their houses, and the magnificence and splendor with which they furnished their tables. Some other resemblances, perhaps, which we here omit, may easily be collected from their history itself.

Cimon was the son of Miltiades and Hegesipyla a Thracian lady, and the daughter of king Olorus, as it stands recorded in the poems of Archelaüs and Melanthius [5], which were written in honour of Cimon. So that Thucydides, the historian, was his relation; for his father was called Olorus (a name, which he referred to his ancestors), and he had gold mines in Thrace. Thucydides is said likewise to have been killed in Scapte Hyle [6], a place in that country. His remains however were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, near the tomb of his sister Elpinice. But Thuycidides was of the ward of Alimus, and Miltiades of that of Lacias. Miltiades was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents, for which he was thrown into prison by the government, and there died; leaving his son Cimon very young, and his daughter Elpinice not yet marriageable.

Cimon was at first a person of no reputation, but censured as a disorderly and riotous young man. He was even compared [7] to his grandfather Cimon, who for his stupidity was surnamed Coalemos [that is, 'Idiot']. If we may believe Stesimbrotus, the Thasian (who was his contemporary), he had no knowledge of music or of any other accomplishment which was in vogue among the Greeks, and possessed not a single spark of Attic wit or eloquence; but there was a generosity and sincerity in his be-

[5] Archelaüs was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and the master of Socrates. Melanthius is mentioned by Athenæus (viii. 6.) as a tragic and elegiac writer, and a very great eater.

[6] Scapte Hyle signifies 'a wood full of trenches.' Stephanus (de Urb.) calls it 'Scaptesule.' (L.) It was a small town in the north of Thrace, near the sea-side, opposite the isle of Thasos.*

[7] See Val. Max. (vi. 9.) who remarks, that this imputed folly was highly advantageous to his country.*

haviour, which showed the composition of his soul to be rather of the Peloponnesian kind. Like the Hercules of Euripides, he was

Rough and unbred, but great on great occasions *;

and therefore we may well add to our account of him the article which Stesimbrotus has recorded.

In his youth, he was accused of a criminal commerce with his sister Elpinice[8]. There are other instances, indeed, mentioned of Elpinice's irregular conduct, particularly with respect to Polygnotus the painter. Hence it was (we are told) that, when that artist painted the Trojan women in the portico then called Plesianaction[9], but now Pœcile, he drew Elpinice's face[10] in the character of Laodice. Polygnotus however was not a painter by profession, neither did he receive wages for his work in the portico, but in order to recommend himself to his countrymen, painted without reward. So the historians write, as well as the poet Melanthius in these verses;

——The temples of the gods,
The fanes of heroes, and Cecropian halls
His liberal hand adorn'd.

* See the Life of Marcellus, Vol. II.

[8] Some say Elpinice was only half-sister to Cimon, and that as such he married her; the laws of Athens not forbidding to marry one, who was sister only by the father's side. (L.) This is indeed expressly affirmed by Cornelius Nepos; and a Juvenal, inclined to throw out a sarcasm against the ladies, might ascribe the permission to an idea, that the parties were not necessarily akin: but Barthelemi assigns the real reason, where he states that the object of the law was to prevent the union of two properties. *Il seroit à craindre qu'un frère, en s'unissant avec sa sœur uterine, n'accumulât sur sa tête et l'hérédité de son père, et celle du premier mari de sa mère.* (Voyage du Jeune Anachars. 1., Introd.)*

[9] Diogenes Laërtius (Life of Zeno, vii. 5.), Suidas, and others, call it 'Peisianaction.' (L.) Pausanias describes it in detail, i. 15. The same author observes, x. 35, that he has not found in any poet the name of Laodice among those of the Trojan captives.*

[10] This, in the later times of Rubens, &c. has been, naturally, a very hacknied piece of gallantry.*

There are some, it is true, who assert that Elpinice did not live in a private commerce with Cimon, but was publicly married to him, her poverty preventing her from getting a husband suitable to her birth. Afterward Callias, a rich Athenian, falling in love with her, made a proposal to pay the government her father's fine, if she would give him her hand; to which condition she agreed, and with her brother's consent became his wife. Still however it must be acknowledged, that Cimon had his attachments to the sex. Witness his mistress Asteria of Salamis, and one Menstra, on whose account the poet Melanthius jests upon him in his Elegies. And though he was legally married to Isodice, the daughter of Euryptolemus the son of Megacles, yet was he too uxorious while she lived; and upon her death he was inconsolable, if we may judge from the Elegies addressed to him by way of comfort and condolence. Of these Elegies, Panætius the philosopher thinks Archelaüs the physician was the author; and, from the times in which he flourished, the conjecture seems not improbable.

The rest of Cimon's conduct was great and admirable. In courage he was not inferior to Miltiades, nor in prudence to Themistocles, and he was confessedly an honester man than either of them. He could not be said to fall short of them in abilities for war: and, even while he was young and without military experience, it is surprising how much he exceeded them in political virtue. When Themistocles upon the invasion of the Medes, advised the people to quit their city and territory, and retire to the straits of Salamis to try their fortunes in a naval combat, the generality were astonished at the rashness of the enterprise. But Cimon briskly led the way with his friends through the Ceramicus to the citadel, carrying a bridle in his hand to dedicate to the goddess. This was to signify to them that Athens had no need of cavalry, but of marine forces, upon the present occasion. After he had conse-

crated the bridle, and taken down one of the shields hung up against the wall, he paid his devotions to the goddess, and then proceeded to the sea-side, by which means he inspired numbers with courage to embark. Besides, as the poet Ion informs us, he was not unhandsome in his person, but tall and majestic, and had an abundance of hair which curled upon his shoulders. In the battle he so eminently distinguished himself, as to gain not only the praise, but the hearts of his countrymen; insomuch that many joined his train, and exhorted him to conceive designs and actions worthy of those of Marathon.

When he applied for a share in the administration, the people received him with pleasure. By this time, they were weary of Themistocles; and as they knew Cimon's engaging and humane behaviour to their whole body, consequent upon his natural mildness and candour, they promoted him to the highest honours and offices in the state. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, contributed not a little to his advancement. He saw the goodness of his disposition, and set him up as a rival against the keen and daring spirit of Themistocles*.

When the Medes were driven out of Greece, Cimon was elected admiral. The Athenians had not now the chief command at sea, but acted under the orders of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian. The first thing, which Cimon did, was to equip his countrymen in a more commodious manner, and to make them much better seamen than the rest. And as Pausanias began to negociate with the barbarians, and write letters to the king about surrendering to him the fleet, in consequence of which he treated the allies in a rough and haughty style, and foolishly committed many unnecessary and oppressive acts of authority; Cimon on the other hand listened to the complaints of the injured with so much gentleness

* In the Life of Themistocles, Vol. I., Plutarch says, this rivalry was devised by the Lacedæmonians. See also below, p. 315.

and humanity, that he insensibly, not by arms but by kind and obliging manners, acquired the command of Greece. For the chief part of the allies, no longer able to bear the severity and pride of Pausanias, put themselves under the direction of Cimon and Aristides. At the same time they wrote to the Ephori, to desire them to recall Pausanias, by whom Sparta was dishonoured and Greece disunited.

It is related, that when Pausanias was at Byzantium, he cast his eyes upon a young virgin named Cleonice, of a noble family of that place, and insisted on having her for a mistress. The parents, intimidated by his power, were under the hard necessity of giving up their daughter. The young woman implored, that the light might be taken out of his apartment, that she might go to his bed in secrecy and silence. He was asleep when she entered, and she unfortunately stumbled upon the candlestick, and threw it down. The noise waked him suddenly; and he in his confusion, thinking it was an enemy coming to assassinate him, unsheathed a dagger which lay by his side, and plunged it into the virgin's heart. After this, he could never rest. Her image appeared to him every night, and with a menacing tone repeated this heroic verse;

Go to the fate, which pride and lust prepare!

The allies, highly incensed at this infamous action, joined Cimon to besiege him in Byzantium. But he found means to escape thence; and as he was still haunted by the spectre, he is said to have applied to a temple at Heraclea[11] where the *manes* of the dead were consulted. There he invoked the spirit of Cleonice, and entreated her forgiveness. She appeared, and assured him that, "He would "quickly after his return to Sparta be delivered

[11] Heraclea was a place near Olympia. See Strabo, and Pausan. vi. 22. Pausanias applied to the necromancers there, called 'Psychagogi,' whose office it was to call up departed spirits.

"from all his troubles;" in which, it seems, his death was enigmatically predicted[12]. These particulars we have from many historians.

All the confederates had now put themselves under the conduct of Cimon, and he sailed with them to Thrace, on receiving intelligence that some of the most honourable of the Persians and of the king's relations had seized the city of Eïon upon the river Strymon, and greatly harassed the Greeks in that neighbourhood. Cimon engaged and defeated the Persian forces, and then shut them up in the town. After this, he dislodged the Thracians above the Strymon, who had been accustomed to supply the town with provisions, and kept so strict a guard over the country that no convoys could escape him. Thus the place was reduced to such extremity, that Butes the king's general in absolute despair set fire to it, and perished in it with his friends and all his substance.

In consequence of this, Cimon became master of the town; but there was no advantage to be reaped from it worth mentioning, because the barbarians had destroyed every thing by fire. The country about it however was extremely beautiful and fertile, and that he settled with Athenians. For this reason, the people of Athens permitted him to erect there three marble Hermæ[13], which had the following inscriptions:

I.

Brave were the youths, who first defied
The Medes by Strymon's silver tide
At Eïon; where, with famine press'd,
The foe their matchless force confess'd

[12] The Lacedæmonians having resolved to seize him, he fled for refuge to a temple of Minerva called Chalciœcos. There they shut him up, and starved him to death. (See Diod. Sic. xi. 45, and Thucyd. i. 134.)

[13] These were pillars of stone or marble, surmounted with heads of Mercury. The three here mentioned are referred to by Æschines (In Ctesiph.), for the purpose of observing, that even Cimon was not permitted to inscribe his name upon them.*

II.

Let travellers born in distant days,
Behold these monuments of praise,
By Athens to her chiefs raised high;
And for their country learn to die.

III.

Afar to Phrygia's fated lands
When Mnestheus leads his Attic bands,
Behold! he bears in Homer [14] still
The palm of military skill.
In every age, on every coast,
'Tis thus the sons of Athens boast!

Though Cimon's name does not appear in any of these inscriptions, yet his contemporaries considered them as the highest pitch of honour. For neither Themistocles, nor Miltiades, had been favoured with any thing of the kind. Nay, when the latter asked only for a crown of olive, Sochares [15] of the ward of Decelia stood up in the midst of the assembly, and spoke against it, in terms uncandid indeed, but agreeable to the people. "When you shall have fought the "barbarians alone, Miltiades," he said, "and con- "quered them, then ask to have honours paid "to you alone." What was it then, which induced them to give so distinguished a preference to this action of Cimon? Was it not, that under the other generals they had fought for their lives and existence as a people; but that under him they had been able to distress their enemies, by carrying war into the countries where they had established themselves, and by colonising Eïon and Amphipolis? They planted a colony likewise in the isle of Scyros [16], which was reduced by Cimon on the following occasion: The

[14] Il. ii. 553.

[15] This, Palmerius plausibly conjectures, should be read 'Sophanes,' an eminent Athenian of the ward here mentioned, of whom Herodotus speaks in very favourable terms, ix. 73, &c.*

[16]* About the beginning of Ol. lxxvii. (L.) See Thucyd. i. 98. This island, situated in the Ægean sea between Eubœa and Lesbos, was chiefly celebrated (according to Strabo ix.) for it's goats, and it's marble-quarries.*

Dolopes, who then held it, paid no attention to agriculture. This people had been so long addicted to piracy, that at last they spared not even the merchants and strangers who visited their ports, but in that of Ctesium plundered some Thessalians who had come to traffic with them, and put them in prison. Thence however they found means to escape, and went and lodged an impeachment against the place before the Amphictyons [who commanded the whole island to make restitution]. Those, who had no concern in the robbery, were unwilling to pay any thing; and called upon the persons who had committed it, and who had the goods in their possession, to make satisfaction. But these pirates, apprehensive of the consequence, sent to invite Cimon to come with his ships and take the town, which they promised to deliver into his hands. In pursuance of this, Cimon took the island, expelled the Dolopes, and cleared the Ægean sea of corsairs.

This done, he recollected that their ancient hero Theseus, the son of Ægeus, had retired from Athens to Scyros, and had been there treacherously murthered by king Lycomedes, who entertained some suspicion of him. And as there was an oracle, which enjoined the Athenians to bring back his remains[17], and to honour him as a demi-god, Cimon anxiously undertook to find his tomb. This was no easy matter, for the people of Scyros had uniformly refused to declare where he lay, or to suffer any search for his bones. At last with much minute inquiry he discovered the repository, put his remains (decorated with all imaginable magnificence) on board his own galley, and carried them to the ancient seat of that hero, almost four hundred years after he had left it[18].

[17] This oracle was delivered to them four years before, Ol. lxxvi. 1. See the Life of Theseus, Vol. I.

[18] Plutarch could not make a mistake of four hundred years. We are persuaded, therefore, that he wrote 'eight hundred.' (L.)
The archon mentioned below, is by Corsini (Fast Att. II.) called 'Apsephion:' during whose magistracy, Ol. lxxvii. 4., he represents this conveyance of Theseus' bones to have taken place.*

Nothing could give the people more pleasure than this event. To commemorate it, they instituted games, in which the tragic poets were to try their skill; and the dispute was particularly remarkable. Sophocles, then a young man, brought his first piece on the theatre: and Aphepsion the archon, perceiving that the audience were prejudiced and in parties, did not appoint the judges by lot in the usual manner. The method, which he took, was as follows: When Cimon and his officers had entered the theatre, and made the due libations to the gods who presided over the games, the archon would not suffer them to retire; but obliged them to sit down, and select ten judges upon oath, one out of each tribe. The dignity of the arbiters caused an extraordinary emulation among the actors. Sophocles gained the prize; at which Æschylus was so much grieved and disconcerted, that he could not bear to stay much longer in Athens, but retired in anger to Sicily, where he died and was buried near Gela.

Ion informs us, that when he was very young, and recently come from Chios to Athens, he supped at Laomedon's with Cimon. After supper, when the libations had been offered, Cimon was desired to sing; and he did it so agreeably, that the company preferred him in point of politeness to Themistocles, who once upon a similar occasion observed: "He "had not learned to sing, or play upon the harp; "but he knew how to raise a small city to wealth "and greatness."* The conversation subsequently turned upon the actions of Cimon, and each of the guests dwelt upon such as appeared to him the most considerable. He for his part mentioned only the following, which he looked upon as his most artful expedient. A great number of barbarians had been made prisoners in Sestos, and at Byzantium; and the allies desired Cimon to divide the booty. Cimon placed the prisoners quite naked on one side, and

* See his Life, Vol. I.

all their ornaments on the other. The allies complained, that the shares were not equal; upon which he bade them take whether part they pleased, assuring them that the Athenians would be satisfied with what they left. By the advice of Herophytus the Samian they chose the Persian spoils, and of course the captives fell to the share of the Athenians. At the time, Cimon was ridiculed in private for the division, which he had made; because the allies had chains of gold, rich collars and bracelets, and robes of scarlet and purple to display; while the Athenians had nothing but a parcel of naked slaves, and those very unfit for labour. But, a little while afterward, the friends and relations of the prisoners came down from Phrygia and Lydia, and gave large sums for their ransom. So that Cimon with the money purchased four months' provisions for his ships, and sent a quantity of gold besides to the Athenian treasury.

Cimon had now acquired an immense fortune; and what he had gained gloriously in the war from the enemy, he laid out with as much reputation upon his fellow-citizens. He ordered the fences of his fields and gardens to be thrown down, that strangers as well as his own countrymen might freely partake of his fruit. He had a supper provided at his house every day, in which the dishes were plain, but sufficient for a multitude of guests. Every poor citizen repaired to it at pleasure, and received his food without care or trouble; by which means he was enabled to give proper attention to public affairs. Aristotle indeed says, this supper was provided not for all the citizens in general, but only for those of his own tribe, which was that of Lacias [19].

[19] That Cimon's ward is subsequently called Œneis, (p 318.) must be reconciled with this place from Stephanus, who informs us, 'the Laciadæ were a borough of the ward (or rather tribe), Œneis.' (L.)

For the division of the people into φυλαι, or tribes, their subdivision into δημοι, or boroughs, &c. and the names of each, see Potter (Archæol Gr. I. ix.).*

When he walked out, he used to have a retinue of young men well clothed; and if he happened to meet an aged citizen in a mean dress, he ordered some one of them to change apparel with him. This was great and noble. But, beside this, the same attendants carried with them a quantity of money; and when they observed in the market-place any necessitous person of tolerable appearance, they took care as privately as possible to slip some pieces into his hands. Cratinus, the comic writer, seems to have referred to these circumstances in one of his pieces, entitled Archilochi:

Even I Metrobius, though a scrivener, hoped
To pass a cheerful and a sleek old age,
And live to my last hour at Cimon's table;
Cimon, the best and noblest of the Greeks,
Whose wide-spread bounty vied with that of heaven!
But, ah! he's gone before me!

Gorgias, the Leontine, gives him this character: "He got riches to use them, and used them so as "to be honoured on their account." And Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants, in his Elegies thus expresses the utmost extent of his wishes;

The wealth of Scopas'[20] heirs, the soul of Cimon,
And the famed trophies of Agesilaus.

Lichas the Lacedæmonian, we know, gained a great name among the Greeks, by only entertaining strangers, who came to see the public exercises of the Spartan youth[21]. But Cimon's magnificence exceeded even the ancient hospitality and bounty of the Athenians. They indeed taught the Greeks to sow bread-corn, to avail themselves of the use of wells, and of the benefit of fire. But Cimon's house

[20] Scopas, a rich Thessalian, is mentioned in the Life of Cato.
[21] Xenophon has given him the same character. He died in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war.*

was a kind of common-hall[22] for the whole people: the first-fruits of his lands were theirs; whatever the seasons produced excellent and agreeable, they freely gathered: neither were strangers in the least debarred from them; so that he in some measure revived the community of goods, which prevailed in the fabled reign of Saturn. Those, who malevolently ascribed this liberality of his to a desire of flattering or courting the people, were refuted by the rest of his conduct; in which he favoured the nobility, and inclined to the constitution of Sparta. When Themistocles sought to raise the power and privileges of the commons too high, Cimon joined Aristides to oppose him. In like manner he opposed Ephialtes, who in order to ingratiate himself with the people, attempted to abolish the court of Areopagus. He saw all who were concerned in the administration, except Aristides and Ephialtes, pillaging the public; yet he kept his own hands clean, and in all his speeches and actions continued to the last perfectly disinterested. One instance of this is recorded in his behaviour to Rhœsaces, a barbarian who had revolted from the king of Persia, and was come to Athens with great treasures. This man, finding himself harassed by informers, applied to Cimon for his protection; and in order to gain his favour placed two cups, the one full of gold and the other of silver darics, in his anti-chamber. Cimon, casting his eye upon them, smiled and asked him, "Whether he "would choose to have him his mercenary, or his "friend?" "My friend undoubtedly," replied the barbarian. "Go then," said Cimon, "and take these "things back with you; for, if I be your friend, "your money will be mine, whenever I have occa- "sion for it."

About this time the allies, though they paid their

[22] Prytaneum: a place where, as it has been already observed, Theseus, Vol. I. not. (12.), those who had deserved well of [coun]try, were maintained at the public expense.*

contributions, began to scruple the furnishing of ships and men. They wished to bid adieu to the troubles of war, and to till the ground in quiet and tranquillity; particularly, as the barbarians kept at home, and gave them no disturbance. The other Athenian generals took every method to compel them to make good their quota, and by prosecutions and fines rendered the Athenian government oppressive and invidious. But Cimon, when he had the command, pursued a different course. He used no compulsion toward any Greek; he received money, and ships unmanned, from such as did not choose to serve in person, and thus suffered them to be led by the charms of ease to domestic employment, to husbandry and manufactures: so that, from a warlike people, they became through an inglorious attachment to luxury and pleasure quite unfit for any thing in the military department. On the other hand, he made all the Athenians in their turns serve on board his ships, and kept them in continual exercise[23]. By these means he extended the Athenian dominion over the allies, who were all the while paying him for it. The Athenians were constantly engaged in one expedition or other, had their weapons for ever in their hands, and were trained up and disciplined to every fatigue of service. Hence it was, that the allies learned to fear and flatter them; and, instead of being their fellow-soldiers as formerly, insensibly became their tributaries and their subjects.

Add to this, that no man more than Cimon humbled the pride and arrogance of the great king. Not satisfied with having driven him out of Greece, he pursued his footsteps, and without suffering him to take breath, ravaged and laid waste some parts of his dominions, and drew over others to the Grecian league; insomuch that in all Asia, from Ionia to Pamphylia, there was not a Persian standard to be

[23] Thucydides, i. 99, has a shrewd maxim of precisely the same purport.*

seen. As soon as he was informed, that the king's fleets and armies lay upon the Pamphylian coasts, he was desirous so to intimidate them, that they should never more venture beyond the Chelidonian isles[24]. For this purpose he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium with a fleet of two hundred galleys, which Themistocles had in their first construction made light and fit to turn with the utmost agility. Cimon widened them, and joined a platform to the deck of each; that in the time of action, there might be room for a greater number of combatants. When he arrived at Phaselis which was inhabited by Greeks, but would neither receive his fleet nor revolt from the king, he ravaged their territories, and advanced to assault their walls. Upon this, the Chians who were among his forces, having of old had a friendship for the people of Phaselis, on one side endeavoured to pacify Cimon, and on the other addressed themselves to the townsmen by letters fastened to arrows, which they shot over the walls. At length, they reconciled the two parties; the conditions were, that the Phaselites should pay down ten talents, and should follow Cimon's standard against the barbarians.

Tithraustes, according to Ephorus, commanded the king's fleet, and Pherendates his land-forces; but Callisthenes[25] will have it, that Ariomandes the son of Gobryas was at the head of the Persians. Upon the same authority we are told, that he lay at anchor in the river Eurymedon, as not yet choosing to come to an engagement with the Greeks, because

[24] These, Strabo xiv. informs us, were three islands situated off the coast of Pamphylia. And this passage therefore implies, that Cimon meant to deter the Persians from venturing into any part of the Mediterranean Sea. Cnidus and Triopium were towns in Caria.*

[25] This cousin and pupil of Aristotle, who attended Alexander in his eastern expedition, incurred his displeasure by his sarcasms and austerity; and having refused to pay him adoration was, under the pretence of being concerned in a plot against him, put to a cruel death. See the Life of Camillus, Vol I not. (15.) The Eurymedon, mentioned below, was a river in Pamphylia.

he expected a reinforcement of eighty Phœnician ships from Cyprus. On the other hand, Cimon wished to prevent that junction; and he therefore sailed with a resolution to compel the Persians to fight, if they declined it. In order to avoid it, they pushed up the river. But when Cimon came up, they attempted to make head against him with six hundred ships (according to Phanodemus) or, as Ephorus writes, with three hundred and fifty. They performed however nothing worthy of such a fleet; but presently made for land; where the foremost disembarked, and succeeded in effecting their escape to the army, which was drawn up at a great distance: but the Greeks laid hold on the rest, and handled them very roughly, as well as their ships. A certain proof that the Persian fleet was very numerous is, that though many in all probability got away, and many others were destroyed, yet the Athenians took no less than two hundred vessels.

The barbarian land-forces advanced close to the sea; but it appeared to Cimon an arduous undertaking to make good his landing by dint of sword, and with wearied troops to engage those who were quite fresh, and many times their number. Notwithstanding this, he saw the courage and spirits of his men elevated with their late victory, and that they were very desirous to be led against the enemy. He therefore disembarked his heavy-armed infantry, yet warm from the late naval action. These rushed forward with loud shouts, and the Persians stood and received them gallantly. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the bravest and most distinguished among the Athenians were slain. At last, with much difficulty, the barbarians were put to the rout: many were killed, and many others taken, together with their pavilions full of all kinds of rich spoil.

Thus Cimon, like an excellent champion, won two prizes in one day, and by these two actions outdid the victory of Salamis at sea, and of Platææ at land. He added, however, a new trophy to his vic-

tories. Upon intelligence that the eighty Phoenician galleys, which were not in the battle, had arrived at Hydrus[26], he steered that way as fast as possible. These galleys had not received any certain account of the greater forces, to whose assistance they were going; and as this suspense much intimidated them, they were easily defeated, with the loss of all their ships and of the chief part of their men.

Humbled by such a series of disasters, the king of Persia consented to the celebrated peace, which limited him to the distance of a day's journey[27] on horseback from the Grecian sea; and stipulated, that none of his galleys or other ships of war should ever come within the Cyanean[28] or Chelidonian isles. Callisthenes, indeed, denies that the king agreed to these conditions: but he allows, that his subsequent behaviour was equivalent to such an agreement. For his fears generated by the defeat made him retire so far from Greece, that Pericles with fifty ships, and Ephialtes with only thirty, sailed beyond the Chelidonian rocks without meeting any barbarian fleet. In the collection however of Athenian decrees made by Craterus, there is a copy of the articles of this peace, which are in substance the same as we have here stated. We are told also, that the Athenians upon this occasion built an altar to Peace, and paid particular honours to Callias, who had negociated the treaty[29]. So much was raised from the

[26] As Hydrus is nowhere to be found, Lubinus thinks we should read 'Sydra,' which was a maritime town of Cilicia. Dacier proposes to read 'Hydrussa,' which was one of the Cyclades. But, perhaps, 'Hydrus' is only a corruption of Cyprus; for thither, as Polyænus informs us, Cimon immediately sailed after his twofold victory; disguised (he adds) in a Persian dress, which must have been with a view to deceive the Phœnicians.

[27] Four hundred furlongs.

[28] These islands, which were supposed to meet and recede like electrical balls, were near the entrance of the Euxine; and are familiar to the ear of the classical reader, on account of their connexion with the Argonautic expedition.*

[29] Demosthenes, on the other hand, in his oration *de fals. Leg.*, represents the Athenians as so much irritated against Callias, that

sale of the spoils, that beside what was reserved for other occasions, the people had money enough to build the wall on the southern side of the citadel. Nay, by it were laid the foundations of the long walls, called the 'Legs;' they were not finished, indeed, till some time afterward. And, as the place where they were to be erected was marshy and full of water, Cimon, at his own expense, had the bottom secured, by ramming down large stones and binding them with gravel. He likewise first adorned the city with those elegant and noble places for exercise and disputation, which were soon so much admired. He planted the Forum also with plane-trees; and brought water to the Academy, previously a dry and sterile plat, and sheltered it with groves, so that it abounded with clean alleys and shady walks.

By this time some of the Persians refused to evacuate the Chersonese, and in lieu thereof called down the Thracians to their assistance. Cimon set out against them from Athens, with a very few galleys; and as they looked upon him on that account with contempt, he attacked them, and with only four ships took thirteen of theirs. Thus he expelled the Persians, and beat the Thracians too; by which success he reduced the whole Chersonese to the obedience of Athens. After this, he defeated at sea the Thasians who had revolted from the Athenians, took thirty-three of their ships, and stormed their town. The gold-mines likewise, which were in the neighbouring continent[30], he secured to his countrymen, together with the whole Thasian territories.

Thence there was an easy opening to invade Macedon, and possibly to conquer great part of it; and, as he neglected the opportunity, it was thought to have been owing to the presents which king Alex-

they imposed upon him a heavy fine, and were near putting him to death. But Palmerius explains the apparent contradiction of the two passages, by the proverbial fickleness of the Athenian populace.*

[30] See Thucyd. i. 101.*

ander[31] made him. His enemies therefore impeached him for it, and brought him to his trial. In his defence, he thus addressed his judges: "I have no "connexion with rich Ionians, or Thessalians, to "whom other generals have applied, in hopes of re-"ceiving compliments and treasures from them. "My attachment is to the Macedonians[32], whose "frugality and sobriety I honour and imitate; things "preferable, with me, to all the wealth in the world. "I love, indeed, to enrich my country at the ex-"pense of it's enemies." Stesimbrotus, who mentions this trial, informs us that Elpinice waited upon Pericles at his own house, to entreat that he would show some lenity toward her brother; for Pericles was his most vehement accuser. He with a smile said, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to "transact such business as this*." When the cause however came on, he was extremely favourable to Cimon, rising up only once to speak during the whole impeachment, and even then doing it in a slight manner. Cimon, therefore, was honourably acquitted.

As to the rest of his administration, he opposed and restrained the people, who were invading the province of the nobility, and sought to engross the direction of every thing to themselves. But, when he was gone upon a new expedition, they broke out again; and overturning the constitution and most sacred customs of their country, at the instigation of Ephialtes, deprived the council of Areopagus of those causes which used to come before it, and left it the

[31] The first of that name, who sat upon the throne of Macedon.*

[32] The MSS. in general have 'Lacedæmonians;' and that is, probably, the true reading. For Cimon is well known to have had a strong attachment to that people. (See the two following pages.) Besides, the Macedonians were not a sober people. As to what some object, that it is strange he should make no mention of the Macedonians, when he was accused of having been bribed by them, the answer is easy; we are not certain, that Plutarch has given us the [illegible] of his Defence.

* [illegible] the Life of Pericles, Vol. II.

cognisance of but very few. Thus, by bringing all matters before themselves, they changed the government into a perfect democracy. And this they did with the concurrence of Pericles, who was now grown very powerful, and had espoused their party. It was with great indignation that Cimon found, on his return, the dignity of that high court insulted; and he set himself to restore it's jurisdiction, and to revive such an aristocracy as had existed under Clisthenes[33]. Upon this, his adversaries raised a loud clamour, and exasperated the people against him; not forgetting those stories about his sister, and his attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Hence those verses of Eupolis about him:

> He's not a villain, but a debauchee,
> Whose careless heart is lost on wine and women.
> The time has been, he slept in Lacedæmon,
> And left poor Elpinice here alone.

But if with all his negligence and love of wine he took so many cities, and gained so many victories, it is plain, that had he been a sober man and attentive to business, none of the Greeks either before or after him could have exceeded him in glorious actions.

From his first setting out in life, he had an attachment to the Lacedæmonians. According to Stesimbrotus, he called one of the twins whom he had by a Clitorian woman Lacedæmonius, and the other Eleus; and Pericles often took occasion to reproach them with their mean descent by the mother's side. But Diodorus the geographer writes, that he had both these sons and a third named Thessalus by Isodice the daughter of Megacles' son Euryptolemus.

The Lacedæmonians contributed not a little to Cimon's promotion. Being declared enemies to Themistocles, they much rather chose to see Cimon,

[33] This was he, who expelled the Pisistratidæ from Athens, B. C. 510, increased the number of tribes from four to ten, &c. &c.

a young man, at the head of affairs in Athens. The Athenians at first witnessed this partiality with pleasure, because they reaped considerable advantages from it. When they began to take the lead among the allies, and were gaining the chief direction of the whole business of the league, it was no uneasiness to them to observe the honour and esteem, in which he was held. He was the person, indeed, selected by them to transact that business, on account of his humane behaviour to the allies, and his interest with the Lacedæmonians. But, when they were become great and powerful, it gave them pain to behold him still adoring that people. For he was always magnifying them at his countrymen's expense; and particularly (as Stesimbrotus informs us) when he had any fault to find with them, he used to say, "The Lacedæmo-" nians would not have done so." Hence his countrymen began to envy, and to hate him.

Their heaviest complaint, however, against him took it's rise as follows: In the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus the son of Zeuxidamus, there happened the greatest earthquake [34] at Sparta which had ever been known. The ground in many parts of Laconia was cleft asunder; Mount Taygetus felt the shock, and it's ridges were torn off; and the whole city, with the exception of five houses, was dismantled. The young men and boys were exercising in the portico; and a little before the earthquake, a hare, it is said, crossed the place; upon which [many of] the young men, naked and anointed as they were, ran out in sport after it. The building fell upon those who remained behind, and destroyed them all together. Their monument is still called, from that event, Sismatia [35].

Archidamus, amidst the present danger, perceived that another was likely to ensue; and, as he saw the people endeavouring to save their richest moveables,

[34] This happened, according to Diod. Sic. xi. 63, in Ol. lxxvii. 4.*

[35] From [illegible], 'an earthquake.' *

he ordered the trumpets to give the alarm, as if some enemy were ready to fall upon them, that they might immediately repair to him with their weapons in their hands. This alone, at that crisis, saved Sparta. For the Helots flocked together on all sides from the fields, to despatch such as had escaped the earthquake; but, finding them armed and in good order, they returned to their villages and declared open war. At the same time they persuaded some of their neighbours, among whom were the Messenians, to join them against Sparta.

In this great distress the Lacedæmonians sent Periclidas to Athens, to solicit succours. Aristophanes[36], in his comic way, says,

> Thus, with his pale face and his purple robe,
> He sat a humble suppliant at our altars,
> imploring help.

Ephialtes strongly opposed and protested against giving any assistance to re-establish a city which was the rival of their own, insisting that they ought rather to suffer the pride of Sparta to be trodden under foot. Cimon however, as Critias informs us, preferred the relief of Sparta to the enlargement of Athens, and persuaded the people to march with a great army to it's aid. Iön preserves the very words, which had the most powerful effect upon them: he desired them, it seems, "Not to suffer Greece to "be maimed, nor to deprive their own city of it's "companion[37]."

When he returned from assisting the Lacedæmonians, he marched with his army through Corinth. Lachartus complained in high terms of his introducing his troops, without permission from the citizens: "For," said he. "when we knock at another man's

[36] Lysistr. 1110.

[37] Besides, the pride of Athens required some strong check. The destruction of Carthage was more fatal to Rome, than all her preceding rivalry *

"door, we do not enter without leave from the mas-"ter." "You, Lachartus, however," answered Cimon, "did not knock at the gates of Cleone, and "Megara, but broke them in pieces, and forced "your way upon this principle, that nothing should "be shut against the strong." With this proper confidence did he reply to the Corinthian, and then pursued his march.

After this, the Spartans called in the Athenians a second time against the Messenians and Helots in Ithome[38]. But when they arrived, they were more afraid of their spirit of enterprise, than of the enemy: and therefore, of all their allies, they sent them alone back again, as persons suspected of some dishonourable design. They returned full of resentment of course[39], and now openly declared themselves against the partisans of the Lacedæmonians, and particularly against Cimon; whom they banished, upon a slight pretence, for ten years—the term, to which the Ostracism universally extends.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, on their return from an expedition in which they had delivered Delphi from the Phocians, encamped at Tanagra. The Athenians marched to give them battle. Upon this occasion Cimon appeared in arms among those of his own tribe, which was that of Œneïs, to fight for his country against the Lacedæmonians. When the council of Five Hundred heard of it, they were afraid that his enemies would raise a clamour against him, as if he were only come to create disorders, and to bring the Lacedæmonians into Athens, and therefore they forbade the generals to receive him. Cimon upon this retired, after he had desired Euthippus the Anaphlystian and the rest of his friends, who had been most severely censured as

[38] The Spartans, as it has already been observed, were not skilled in sieges.

[39] In consequence of this affront, they broke off their alliance with Sparta, and joined in confederacy with the Argives. (Thucyd. i. 102).

partisans of Sparta, to exert themselves gloriously against the enemy, and by their behaviour to wipe off the aspersion.

These brave men, in number about a hundred, took Cimon's armour [40] (as a sacred pledge) into the midst of their little band, formed themselves into a close body, and fought with a kind of frantic ardour till they all fell. The Athenians regretted them exceedingly, and repented of the unjust censures, which they had fixed upon them. Their resentment against Cimon likewise quickly abated, partly from the remembrance of his past services, and partly from a sense of their present difficulties. They had been beaten in the great battle fought at Tanagra, and they expected that another army would come against them from Peloponnesus the next spring. They therefore recalled Cimon from banishment, and Pericles himself was the first to propose it. With so much candour were differences then managed! So moderate were the resentments of men, and so easily laid aside where the public good required it! Ambition itself, the strongest of all passions, yielded to the interests and the necessities of their country!

Cimon, soon after his return, put an end to the war, and reconciled the two cities. After the peace however, was made, he perceived the Athenians could not sit down quietly, but still wished to be in motion, and to aggrandise themselves by new expeditions. To prevent therefore their exciting farther troubles in Greece, and giving a handle for intestine wars and heavy complaints of the allies against Athens, on account of their formidable navies traversing the seas about the islands and round Peloponnesus, he fitted out a fleet of two hundred sail, to carry war again into Egypt and Cyprus [41]. This, he thought, would answer two in-

[40] See the Life of Pericles, Vol. II.*

[41] The history of the first expedition is as follows: While Cimon was employed in his enterprise against Cyprus, Inarus king of

tentions; it would accustom the Athenians to conflicts with the barbarians, and it would improve their substance in an honourable manner, by bringing the rich spoils of their natural enemies into Greece.

When all was now ready, and the army on the point of embarking, Cimon had the following dream: An angry bitch seemed to bay at him, and with a kind of sound between barking and a human voice to utter these words;

— - - Come on;
I and my whelps with pleasure shall receive thee.

Though the dream was hard to interpret, Astyphilus the Posidonian, a great soothsayer and a friend of Cimon's, told him it signified his death. He argued thus: A dog is an enemy to the man, at whom he barks; and no one can give his enemy higher pleasure than by his death. The mixture of the voice pointed out that the enemy was a Mede, for the armies of the Medes are composed of Greeks and

Lybia, having induced the greatest part of Lower Egypt to revolt from Artaxerxes, called in the Athenians to assist him in completing his conquest. Upon this, the Athenians quitted Cyprus, and sailed into Egypt. There they made themselves masters of the Nile, and attacking Memphis seized two of the outworks, and attempted the third called 'The White Wall.' But the expedition proved extremely unfortunate. Artaxerxes sent Megabyzus with a powerful army into that country. He defeated the rebels, and the Lybians their associates; drove the Greeks from Memphis, shut them up in the island of Prospitis eighteen months, and at last forced them to surrender. They almost all perished in that war, which lasted six years. Inarus, in violation of the public faith, was crucified.

The second expedition was undertaken a few years afterward, and was not more successful. The Athenians went against Cyprus with two hundred galleys. While they were besieging Citium in that island, Amyrtæus the Saïte applied to them for succours in Egypt, and Cimon sent him sixty of his galleys. Some say, he went with them himself; others, that he continued before Citium. But nothing of moment was transacted, at this time, to the prejudice of the Persians in Egypt. In the tenth year of Darius Nothus, however, Amyrtæus issued from the fens, and being joined by all the Egyptians drove the Persians out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country. (Thucyd. ii., Diod. Sic. xi.)

barbarians. Subsequently to this dream, he had another sign in sacrificing to Bacchus: When the priest had killed the victim, a swarm of ants took up the clotted blood by little and little, and laid it upon Cimon's great toe. This they did for some time, without any one's taking notice of it: at last Cimon himself observed it, and at the same instant the soothsayer came up, and showed him the liver without a head.

The expedition however could not now be deferred, and he therefore set sail. Sixty of his galleys he sent against Egypt; and with the rest he made for the Asiatic coast, where he defeated the king's fleet consisting of Phœnician and Cilician ships, took possession of the cities in that circuit, and watched his opportunity to penetrate into Egypt. Every thing was great in his designs. He thought of nothing less than overturning the whole Persian empire; and this the rather, because he was informed that Themistocles was in great reputation and power with the barbarians, and had promised the king to take the conduct of the Grecian war, whenever he entered upon it. But Themistocles (they tell us) in despair of managing it to any advantage, and of surmounting the good fortune and the valour of Cimon, fell by his own hand *.

When Cimon had formed these lofty projects, as a first step toward them, he cast anchor before Cyprus. Thence he sent persons, in whom he could confide, with a private question to the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; for their errand was entirely unknown. Neither did the deity return them any answer, but immediately upon their arrival ordered them back again; "Because Cimon," said he, "is "already with me." The messengers, upon this, took the road to the sea; and when they reached the Grecian camp, which was on the coasts of Egypt, they found that Cimon was dead. They then in-

* See his Life, Vol. I.

quired, upon what day he died; and comparing it with the time of the delivery of the oracle, they perceived that his departure was enigmatically pointed out in the expression, "That he was "already with the gods."

According to most authors, he died a natural death during the siege of Citium. There are some, however, who state that he died of a wound, which he received in an engagement with the barbarians[42]. The last advice, which he gave to those about him, was to sail away immediately, and to conceal his death. Accordingly, before the enemy or their allies knew the real state of the case, they returned in safety through the generalship of Cimon, exercised (as Phanodemus remarks) thirty days after his death.

After him, there was not a single Grecian general, who performed any thing considerable against the barbarians. The leading orators were little better than incendiaries, who set the Greeks one against another, and involved them in intestine wars; nor was there one healing hand to interpose. Thus the king's affairs had time to recover themselves, and inexpressible ruin was brought upon the powers of Greece. Long after this indeed[43], Agesilaus carried his arms into Asia, and renewed the war awhile against the king's lieutenants on the coast: but he was recalled by the seditions and tumults, which broke out afresh in Greece, before he could effect any thing of any brilliance or magnitude. The Persian tax-gatherers were then left amidst the cities in alliance and friendship with the Greeks; whereas, while Cimon had the command, not a single collector was seen, nor so much as a horseman appeared within four hundred furlongs from the sea-coast[44].

That his remains were brought to Attica, his

42 See Thucyd. i. 112.*

43 Above a century.*

44 This proves at once the previous exactions of the satraps, and the salutary terror of Cimon's name employed in effecting one of the most patriotic of objects.*

monument is a sufficient proof, for it still bears the title of 'Cimonia.' Nevertheless, the people of Citium have a tomb of Cimon, which (as Nausicrates the orator informs us) they hold in great veneration; the gods having ordered them in a certain famine not to disregard his *manes*, but to honour and worship him as a superior being. Such was this Grecian general.

THE

LIFE

OF

LUCULLUS.

SUMMARY.

Family of Lucullus. He accuses the augur Servilius. His eloquence, and command of both the Greek and Latin tongues. His affection for his brother. Sylla attaches him to his party, and employs him upon several occasions. He goes into Egypt, where he is well received by Ptolemy. He escapes the enemy by a stratagem, on his return. Fimbria proposes to him to attack Mithridates by sea. He surprises and defeats the Mitylenians. Sylla constitutes him, by will, guardian to his son. He is elected consul; and employed to manage the war against Mithridates; re-establishes discipline among the troops. Mithridates makes new preparations for war; and defeats Cotta by land and sea. Lucullus marches against him; but is prevented, by a singular phænomenon, from engaging. He determines to gain time. Mithridates besieges Cyzicum. Alarm of the inhabitants. They are supported by several remarkable signs. Lucullus gains a considerable advantage over Mithridates. His second victory. He takes one of that prince's galleys: and pursues him, flying with the rest; which are destroyed by a tempest. The complaints of his soldiers, and his vindication of himself. He encamps opposite Mithridates, and gains some advantage over him in a skirmish. A Dardarian grandee undertakes to assassinate Lucullus, but without success. Successes of Lucullus' officers over those of Mithridates. The latter decamps. Cabira taken. Violent death of that prince's wives. Lucullus makes himself master of Amisus; and repairs as much as possible the damage which it had sustained from fire: visits the Asiatic cities, and in-

troduces into them some useful reforms. Appius Claudius seduces Zarbienus from his alliance with Tigranes. Pride and insolence of Tigranes. Appius demands of him the surrender of Mithridates. Interview of those two sovereigns. Lucullus takes Sinope; is informed that Mithridates and Tigranes are advancing, and marches to meet them: passes the Euphrates, and enters Armenia. Tigranes' conduct upon hearing these news. Lucullus invests Tigranocerta. Tigranes marches against him. Hopes of that prince and his courtiers, founded upon the small number of Lucullus' forces. Lucullus crosses the river, advances against the enemy, and gains a complete victory. Mithridates receives Tigranes. Lucullus takes Tigranocerta. Many nations submit to him. He wishes to proceed against the Parthians: but his soldiers mutiny. He gains several victories over the Armenians; and goes to besiege Artaxata: gains another victory over Tigranes and Mithridates: has a sedition in his army: takes Nisibis. Reflections on his change of fortune. Clodius practises with the army against him. Triarius is defeated by Mithridates. Lucullus' soldiers refuse to follow him. His interview with Pompey. They part with mutual rancour. Remarks upon the Parthian expedition projected by Lucullus, and executed by Crassus. Lucullus with difficulty obtains the honour of a triumph: it's description. He divorces his wife Clodia, in order to marry Servilia, whom however he likewise divorces. He quits public life, for the sake of repose. Reflexions on the magnificence and indulgence of his closing years. The daily expenses of his table. He gives Cicero and Pompey a supper in 'The Apollo.' His library; and attachment to the Old Academy. Pompey combines with Crassus and Cæsar against Cato and Lucullus. The latter is accused of a design against Pompey's life. His death.

THE grandfather of Lucullus was a man of consular dignity; Metellus, surnamed Numidicus, was his uncle by the mother's side. His father was found guilty of having embezzled the public money, and his mother Cæcilia had but an indifferent reputation for chastity. As for Lucullus himself, while he was but a youth, before he solicited any public charge

or attempted to gain a share in the administration, he made his first appearance in impeaching Servilius the augur, who had been his father's accuser. As he had detected Servilius in some act of injustice in the execution of his office, every body commended the prosecution, and represented it as an indication of extraordinary spirit. Where there was no personal injury indeed to revenge, the Romans considered the business of impeachments as a generous pursuit; and they chose to have their young men fasten upon criminals, like so many well-bred hounds upon their prey.

The prosecution was carried on with so much vehemence, that several were wounded, and some even killed; in the end, however, Servilius was acquitted. But, though Lucullus lost his cause, he had great command both of the Greek[1] and Latin tongues; insomuch that Sylla dedicated his Commentaries to him, as a person who could arrange and combine the incidents much better than himself. For his eloquence was not merely occasional, or exerted when necessity called for it, like that of other orators who in the Forum

Sport, as the vaulting tunny in the main;

But, when they are out of it,

——are dry, inelegant, and dead.

He had applied himself to the sciences called Liberal, and was deep in the study of belles lettres from his youth: and in his age he withdrew from public labours, in which he had borne a great share, to repose himself in the bosom of philosophy, and to enjoy the speculations which she suggested; bidding

[1] This had now become very common at Rome, was understood by great numbers, spoken by many, and written by not a few. Cato the Elder learned it at a very advanced age, and it was usual to send the Roman youth of distinction to Athens for the same purpose.*

a timely adieu to ambition, after his difference with Pompey.

To what we have said, about his ingenuity and skill in languages, the following story may be added: While he was yet but young, as he was jesting one day with Hortensius the orator and Sisenna the historian, he undertook to write a short History of the Marsi[2] either in Greek or Latin verse, as the lot should fall. They took him at his word, and the lot determined it to be in Greek. This history of his is still extant.

Among the many proofs of his affection for his brother Marcus, the Romans speak most of the first. Though he was much older than Marcus, he would not accept of any office without him, but waited his time. This was so agreeable to the people, that in his absence they created him ædile along with his brother.

Though he was only a stripling at the time of the Marsian war, there appeared many instances of his courage and understanding. But Sylla's attachment to him was principally owing to his constancy and mildness. Upon this account he made use of his services, from first to last, in his most important affairs. Among other things, he gave him the direction of the mint. It was he, who coined most of Sylla's money in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war; from him it was called 'Lucullia;' and it continued to be chiefly in use for the occasions of the army, from it's convenient exchange.

Some time after this, Sylla engaged in the siege of Athens; and, though he was victorious by land, the superiority of the enemy at sea straitened him for provisions. For this reason he despatched Lucullus into Egypt and Lybia, to procure him a supply

[2] The Marsian or Social War, according to Paterculus xi. 9., had been described by Sisenna when young; and the same historian in his more advanced life composed a history of Sylla's civil war, of which he had been a witness, and probably a partaker. (See Suppl. Liv. xcix. 13., and Voss. de Hist. Lat. i. 10.)*

of ships. It was then the depth of winter; yet he scrupled not, with three small Greek brigantines and the same number of little Rhodian galleys, to encounter strong seas and a number of the enemy's vessels, which kept watch on all sides because their strength lay there. In spite of this opposition he reached Crete, and brought it over to Sylla's interest.

Thence he passed to Cyrene, where he delivered the people from the tyrants and civil wars, with which they had been harassed, and re-established their constitution. In this he availed himself of a saying of Plato; who when he was desired to give them a body of laws, and to settle their government upon rational principles, returned them this oracular answer, "It is very difficult to give laws to so prosperous a people." In fact, nothing is more difficult to govern than man, when fortune smiles; nor any thing more tractable, when calamity lays her hands upon him. Hence it was, that Lucullus found the Cyrenians so thoroughly submissive to his regulations.

From Cyrene, he sailed to Egypt: but he was attacked by pirates on his way, and lost most of the vessels which he had collected. He himself however escaped, and entered the port of Alexandria in a magnificent manner, escorted by the whole Egyptian fleet set off to the best advantage, as it used to be when it attended the king in person. Ptolemy[3], who was then but a youth, received him with every demonstration of respect, and even provided him apartments and a table in his own palace; an honour, which had not been previously conferred upon

[3] Auletes, as Palmerius supposes; but Auletes was not king till B. C. 65. It must, therefore, have been Ptolemy Lathyrus. For Sylla concluded the peace with Mithridates B. C. 84. (L.)

And yet Lathyrus, who first began to reign B. C. 116, could hardly then be 'a youth.' Du Soul thinks it must have been Alexander II, who reigned but nineteen days; and M. Ricard, Alexander III.; but the earliest of these princes did not mount the throne of Egypt till B. C. 81.*

any foreign commander. Neither was the allowance for his expenses the same which others had had, but four times as much. Lucullus however took only what was absolutely necessary, and refused the king's presents, though he was offered no less than the value of eighty talents. He neither visited Memphis, it is said, nor any of the other celebrated wonders of Egypt; deeming it rather the business of a person who has leisure, and travels merely for pleasure, than of him who had left his general engaged in a siege, and encamped before the enemy's fortifications.

Ptolemy refused indeed to enter into an alliance with Sylla, from the apprehension of bringing war upon himself; but he gave Lucullus a convoy to escort him to Cyprus, embraced him at parting, and respectfully offered him a rich emerald set in gold. Lucullus at first declined it; but on the king's showing him his own picture engraved upon it, he was afraid to refuse it, lest he should be thought to go away with hostile intentions, and in consequence have some fatal scheme formed against him at sea.

In his return he collected a number of vessels from the maritime towns, excepting those which had given shelter and protection to pirates, and with this fleet he passed over to Cyprus. At that island he learned, that the enemy's ships lay in wait for him under some point of land; and therefore he laid up his fleet, and wrote to the cities to provide him quarters and all necessaries, as if he intended to pass the winter there. But as soon as the wind served, he immediately launched again, and proceeded on his voyage, lowering his sails in the day-time and hoisting them again when it grew dark; by which stratagem he arrived safe at Rhodes. There he procured a fresh supply of ships, and found means to persuade the people of Cos and Cnidus to quit Mithridates, and join him against the Samians. With his own forces he drove the king's troops out of Chios,

took Epigonus the Colophonian tyrant prisoner, and set the people free.

At this time Mithridates was forced to abandon Pergamus, and had retired to Pitana[4]. As Fimbria shut him up by land, he cast his eyes upon the sea; and, despairing to face in the field that bold and victorious officer, collected his ships from all quarters. Fimbria saw this, but was sensible of his want of naval strength; and therefore sent to entreat Lucullus to come with his fleet and assist him in taking a king, who was the most warlike and virulent enemy the Romans had. "Let not Mithridates," said he, "the "glorious prize which has been sought in so many "labours and conflicts, escape; as he has fallen into "the hands of the Romans, and is already in their "net. When he is taken, who will have a greater "share in the honour than he, who stops his flight, "and catches him as he goes? If I shut him up "by land, and you do the same by sea, the palm "will be all our own. What value will Rome then "set upon the actions of Sylla at Orchomenus and "Chæronea, though now so much extolled?"

There was nothing absurd in the proposal. Every body saw that if Lucullus, who was at no great distance, had brought his fleet and blocked up the harbour, the war would have been at an end, and they would all have been delivered from infinite calamities. But whether it was that he preferred his fidelity, as Sylla's lieutenant, to his own interest and that of the public; or abhorred Fimbria, as a villain whose ambition had lately led him to murther his general[5] and friend; or by some overruling influence of providence reserved Mithridates for his own antagonist, he absolutely rejected the proposal. He suffered him to escape out of the harbour, and to make a mock of Fimbria's land-forces.

After this, he had the honour of beating the king's

[4] Another city in the Troäd, situated upon the river Evenus.*

[5] Valerius Flaccus, pro-consul of Asia as stated below. See Suppl. Liv. lxxxii. 61.*

fleet twice: first at Lectum, a promontory of Troäs; and next at Tenedos, where he found Neoptolemus at anchor with a more considerable force. Upon this, Lucullus advanced before the rest of his ships in a Rhodian galley of five banks of oars commanded by Demagoras, a man strictly faithful to the Romans and of considerable experience in naval affairs. Neopotolemus met him with great fury, and ordered the master of his ship to run his vessel against that of Lucullus. But Demagoras fearing the weight of the admiral's galley, and the shock of it's brasen beak, thought it dangerous to meet him a-head. He therefore tacked about, and received him a-stern with little damage, because the stroke was upon the lower parts of the hull, which were under water. In the mean time the rest of his fleet coming up, Lucullus ordered his own ship to tack again, fell upon the enemy, and after many gallant actions put them to flight, and pursued Neoptolemus to some distance.

This done, he went to meet Sylla, who was about to cross the sea from the Chersonese. Here he secured his passage, and helped to transport his army. When the peace was agreed upon[6], Mithridates sailed into the Euxine sea, and Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of twenty thousand talents. Lucullus was commissioned to collect the tax, and to coin the money; and it was some consolation to the cities amidst Sylla's severity, that Lucullus acted not only with the utmost justice, but with all the lenity which so difficult and odious a charge would admit.

As the Mitylenians had openly revolted, he was desirous to make them acknowledge their fault, and pay a moderate fine for having joined Marius' party. But, under the influence of their evil genius, they continued obstinate. Upon this, he went against them with his fleet, beat them in a great battle, and shut them up within their walls. Some days after

[6] This peace was concluded, A. U. C. 670, six years before the death of Sylla.

he had begun the siege, he had recourse to the following stratagem: In open day he set sail toward Elea[7], but returned privately at night, and lay close near the city. The Mitylenians then sallying out in a bold and disorderly manner to plunder his camp, which they thought he had abandoned, he fell upon them, took most of them prisoners, and killed five hundred who stood upon their defence. Here he got six thousand slaves, and an immense quantity of other spoil.

In the various and unspeakable evils, which Sylla and Marius brought upon Italy, he had no share; for, by the favour of providence[8], he was engaged in the affairs of Asia. Yet none of Sylla's friends had greater interest with him. Sylla, as we have already said, out of particular regard dedicated to him his Commentaries; and, passing by Pompey, in his last will constituted him guardian to his son. This seems to have first occasioned those differences and jealousies, which subsisted between Pompey and Lucullus, both of them young men and full of ardour in the pursuit of glory.

Soon after Sylla's death, Lucullus was chosen consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth olympiad. At this time many proposed to renew the war with Mithridates, and Cotta himself remarked, "The fire was not extinguished; "it only slept in embers." Lucullus therefore was much concerned at having the Cisalpine Gaul allotted as his province, which held out to him no opportunity of distinguishing himself. But the honour, which Pompey had acquired in Spain, gave him the greatest concern; because that general's superior reputation, he clearly foresaw, after the Spanish war was ended, would entitle him to the command against Mithridates. Hence when Pompey applied for

[7] A city on the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Mitylene in Lesbos, which had a road and harbour.*

[8] How creditable these frequent references to providence by a writer, surely not to be regarded as superstitious!*

money, and informed the government, that if he were not furnished with it, he must leave Spain and Sertorius and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus readily exerted himself to procure the supplies, and to prevent his returning upon any pretext whatsoever during his consulship.* Every measure at home, he foresaw, would be under Pompey's direction, if he came with such an army. For at this particular period the tribune Cethegus, who had become popular by consulting nothing in his speeches and actions but the humour of the people, was at enmity with Lucullus; on account of his detesting that tribune's life, polluted as it was with infamous amours, insolence, and every species of profligacy. Against this man he had declared open war. Lucius Quintius likewise, another tribune, sought to annul the acts of Sylla, and to disorder the whole face of affairs, which was now tolerably composed. But Lucullus, by private representations and public remonstrances, drew him from his purpose and restrained his ambition. Thus, in the most courteous and salutary way imaginable, he destroyed the seeds of a very dangerous disease.

About this time, intelligence was brought of the death of Octavius, governor of Cilicia. For that province there were many competitors, all of whom paid their court to Cethegus, as the person most likely to procure it for them. Lucullus set no great value, indeed, upon it; but as it was near Cappadocia, he concluded, if he could obtain it, that the Romans would not think of employing any other general against Mithridates. Hence, he exerted all his art to secure it to himself. At last he was necessitated, against the bent of his disposition, to adopt a measure in itself indirect and illiberal, but very conducive to his purpose.

There was a woman then in Rome named Præcia, celebrated for her fascinating wit and beauty, but in

* See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV.

other respects no better than a common prostitute; who, by applying her interest with those, that frequented her house and were fond of her company, to serve her friends in the administration and in other affairs, had added to her other accomplishments the reputation of being a useful friend and a woman of business. This not a little exalted her. But when she had captivated Cethegus, who was at that time in the height of his glory, and carried all before him in Rome, the whole power fell into her hands. Nothing was done without the favour of Cethegus, nor by Cethegus without the direction of Præcia. To her Lucullus applied, by presents and the most insinuating compliments; nor could any thing have been more acceptable to a vain and haughty woman, than to see herself courted by such a suitor. The consequence was, that Cethegus immediately espoused his cause, and solicited for him the province of Cilicia. When he had gained this, he had no farther need either of Præcia or Cethegus. All came into his interest, and with one voice gave him the command in the Mithridatic war. He could not but be considered indeed as the fittest person for that charge, because Pompey was engaged with Sertorius, and Metellus had resigned his pretensions on account of his great age; and these were the only persons who could stand in competition for it with Lucullus. His collegue Cotta however by much application prevailed upon the senate, to send him with a fleet to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

Lucullus with a legion levied in Italy passed over into Asia, where he found the rest of the troops, which were to compose his army. These had all been long entirely corrupted by luxury and avarice; and that part of them called Fimbrians, on account of their having been under no command, were more untractable than the rest. At the instigation of Fimbria, they had murthered Flaccus, their consul and general, and had betrayed Fimbria himself to

Sylla; and they were still mutinous and lawless, though in other respects, brave, hardy, and experienced soldiers. Nevertheless, Lucullus in a short time subdued the seditious spirit of these men, and corrected the faults of the rest; so that now first they found a real commander, whereas before they had been brought to serve by indulgence and every promise of pleasure.

The affairs of the enemy were in the following posture: Mithridates, like a sophistical warrior, had formerly met the Romans in a vain and ostentatious manner, with forces showy and pompous indeed, but of very little use. Baffled and disgraced in his attempt he grew wiser, and therefore in this second war he had provided troops capable of real service. He retrenched that mixed multitude of nations, and those bravadoes which had issued from his camp in a barbarous variety of language; together with the rich arms adorned with gold and precious stones, which he now considered rather as furnishing spoils to the conqueror, than as adding vigour to the wearer. Instead of this, he armed them with swords in the Roman fashion, and with large and heavy shields; and his cavalry he provided with horses rather well-trained than gaily accoutred. His infantry consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand, and his cavalry of sixteen thousand men, beside armed chariots to the number of a hundred. Neither was his navy equipped as before with gilded pavilions, baths, and delicious apartments for the women; but with all kinds of weapons offensive and defensive, and with money to pay the troops.

In this respectable form he invaded Bithynia, where the cities received him with pleasure; and not only that country, but all Asia relapsed into it's former distemper, on account of the intolerable evils which the Roman usurers and tax-gatherers had brought upon them. These Lucullus subsequently drove away, like so many harpies which robbed the poor inhabitants of their food. At pre-

sent he was satisfied with reprimanding them, and bringing them to exercise their office with greater moderation; by which means he kept the Asiatics from revolting, though their inclination almost universally lay that way.

While Lucullus was employed in these matters, Cotta, thinking he had found his opportunity, prepared to give Mithridates battle. And as he had accounts from many hands that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, he did every thing to expedite the engagement; in order to prevent Lucullus from having any share in the triumph, which he believed was now all his own. He was defeated however both by sea and land, with the loss of sixty ships and all their crews, as well as four thousand land-forces; after which he was shut up in Chalcedon[9], and had no resource except in his collegue's assistance. Lucullus was advised notwithstanding to take no notice of him, but to march forward into the kingdom of Mithridates, which he would find defenceless. Upon this occasion, the soldiers were extremely loud in their complaints. They represented, that Cotta had by his rash counsels not only ruined himself and his own men, but done them likewise great injury; since, had it not been for his error, they might have conquered without loss. But Lucullus, in a set speech upon the subject, told them, "He had "rather deliver one Roman out of the enemy's "hand, than take the whole of the enemy's posses-"sions." And when Archelaüs, who had formerly commanded the king's forces in Bœotia, but was now come over to the Romans and fought on their side, asserted, "That if Lucullus would only make "his appearance in Pontus, every thing would im-"mediately fall before him;" he replied, "He "would not act in a more cowardly manner than "hunters, nor pass the wild beasts by, and go to

9 A city of Bithynia, situated upon the Bosporus.*

"their empty dens." He had no sooner uttered these words, than he marched against Mithridates with thirty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse.

When he got sight of the enemy, he was astonished at their numbers, and determined to avoid a battle and gain time. But Marius[10] a Roman officer, whom Sertorius had sent with some troops to Mithridates out of Spain, advanced to meet Lucullus, and gave him the challenge. Lucullus accepted it, and drew up his army in order of battle. The signal was just ready to be given, when without any visible alteration there was a sudden explosion in the air, and a large luminous body was seen to fall between the two armies; in form it resembled a large tun, and it's colour was that of molten silver. With this phænomenon, both sides were so much affected, that they parted without striking a blow. The prodigy is said to have happened in Phrygia, at a place called Otryæ.

Lucullus, concluding that no human supplies could be sufficient to maintain so many myriads as Mithridates had for any length of time, especially in the presence of an enemy, ordered one of the prisoners to be brought before him. The first question which he put to him was, "How many there were "in his mess?" and the second, "What provisions "he had left in his tent?" When he had received this man's answer, he commanded him to withdraw; and he then examined a second, and a third, in like manner. He next compared the quantity of provisions, which Mithridates had laid in, with the number of soldiers whom he had to support; and thus he discovered, that in three or four days they would be in want of bread-corn. This confirmed him in his design of gaining time; and he caused great plenty of provisions to be brought into his

[10] Appian calls him 'Varius.'

own camp, that in the midst of abundance he might watch the enemy's distress.

Notwithstanding this, Mithridates formed a design against the Cyzicenians, who were beaten in the late battle near Chalcedon [11], and had lost three thousand men and ten ships. In order to deceive Lucullus, he decamped one dark tempestuous night, soon after supper, and marched with so much expedition, that at break of day he got before the town, and posted himself upon Mount Adrastia [12]. As soon as Lucullus perceived he was gone, he followed his steps; and without falling unawares upon the enemy in the obscurity of the night (as he might easily have done) he reached the place of his destination, and sat down at a village called Thracia, in the most commodious situation imaginable for guarding the roads and passing-places, and cutting off the enemy's convoys.

He was now so sure of his aim, that he concealed it no longer from his men; but, when they had entrenched themselves and returned from their labour, he called them together, and triumphantly assured them, "In a few days he would gain them a "victory, which should not cost them a single drop "of blood."

Mithridates had planted his troops in ten different posts about the city, and with his vessels blocked up the frith which parts it from the continent [13], so that it was invested on all sides. The Cyzicenians were prepared to struggle with the greatest difficulties, and to suffer the last extremities in the Roman cause: but they did not know where Lucullus was,

[11] Along with Cotta.

[12] So called from a temple in the city, consecrated by Adrastus to the goddess Nemesis, who had thence the name of Adrastia. (Strab. xii.)

[13] Cyzicum (according to Strabo, x. 6.) lies upon the Propontis, and is an island joined to the continent by two bridges; near which is a city of the same name, with two harbours capable of containing two hundred vessels.

and were much concerned that they could get no account of him. Though his camp was sufficiently visible, the enemy had the art to impose upon them. Pointing to the Romans posted on the heights, "Do "you see that army?" said they; "those are the "Armenians and Medes, whom Tigranes has sent "as a reinforcement to Mithridates." Surrounded by such an immense number of enemies, as they conceived, and having no hope of relief but from the arrival of Lucullus, they were in the utmost consternation.

When Demonax, therefore, whom Archelaüs found means to send into the town [14], brought them news that Lucullus was arrived, they could hardly at first believe it, imagining he came only with a feigned story to encourage them to bear up in their present distress. At the same moment however a boy made his appearance, who had been a prisoner among the enemy, and had just made his escape. Upon their asking him where Lucullus was, he laughed, thinking them only in jest; but when he saw they were in earnest, he pointed with his finger to the Roman camp. This completely revived their drooping spirits.

In the lake Dascylitis, near Cyzicum, there were vessels of a considerable size. Lucullus hauled up the largest of them, placed it upon a carriage, and drew it down to the sea. He then put on board of it as many soldiers as it could contain, and ordered them to get into Cyzicum, which they effected in the course of the night.

It seems likewise that heaven, delighted with the valour of the Cyzicenians, supported them by several remarkable signs. The feast of Proserpine was come, when they were to sacrifice a black heifer to her; and as they had no living animal of that de-

[14] He swam into the town by the assistance of bladders. (Florus, iii. v.) (L.) Cæsar, according to Suetonius (lvii.), in sending despatches across rivers, occasionally availed himself of the same stratagem.*

scription, they made one of paste, and were approaching the altar with it [15]. The victim, bred for that purpose, was at pasture with the rest of their cattle on the other side of the frith. Upon that very day however she separated from the herd, swam alone to the town, and presented herself before the altar. The same goddess appeared to Aristagoras, the public secretary, in a dream; and said, "Go "and bid your fellow-citizens take courage, for I "shall bring the piper of Libya [16] against the trum-"peter of Pontus."

While the Cyzicenians were wondering at this oracular expression, in the morning a strong wind blew, and the sea was in the utmost agitation. The king's machines erected against the walls, the wonderful work of Niconides the Thessalian, by the noise and cracking first announced what was to come. After that a south wind incredibly violent arose, and in the short space of an hour broke all the engines to pieces, and destroyed the wooden tower which was a hundred cubits high. It is added likewise, that Minerva was seen by many at Ilium in their sleep all covered with sweat, and with part of her veil rent; and that she said, "She was just "come from assisting the people of Cyzicum." Nay, a pillar was shown at Ilium, which had an inscription to that purport.

As long as Mithridates was deceived by his officers, and kept in ignorance of the famine which prevailed in the camp, he lamented his miscarriage in the siege. But when he learned the extremity, to which his soldiers had been reduced, and that they had

15 The Pythagoreans, who thought it unlawful to kill any animal, seem (according to Porphyry, Athen. i. 2.) to have been the first among the Greeks, who offered the figures of animals in paste, myrrh, or some other composition. The poorer sort of Egyptians are said to have done the same from a different principle. (Herod. ii.)

16 Meaning the wind called Λίβυς, or Africus, against the machines of Mithridates, which then only waited the sound of the 'trumpet' to commence the assault.*

been forced even to eat human flesh [17], all his ambition and spirit of contention died away. He found Lucullus did not make war in a theatrical ostentatious manner, but aimed his blows at his very heart, and left nothing unattempted to deprive him of provisions. He therefore seized his opportunity, while the Roman was attacking a certain fort, to send off almost all his cavalry and beasts of burthen, as well as the least useful part of his infantry, into Bithynia.

When Lucullus was apprised of their departure, he retired during the night into his camp. The next morning, there was a violent storm; nevertheless, he began the pursuit with ten cohorts of foot, beside his cavalry. All the way he was greatly incommoded by the snow, and the cold was so piercing, that several of his soldiers sunk under it, and were compelled to stop. With the rest he overtook the enemy at the river Rhyndacus, and made such havock among them, that the women of Apollonia came out to plunder the convoys, and to strip the slain. These, as it may well be imagined, were very numerous, and Lucullus made fifteen thousand prisoners; beside which, he took six thousand horses, and an infinite number of beasts of burthen. And he studiously led them all by the enemy's camp. I am surprised at Sallust's representing this as the first time, that the Romans had seen a camel [18]. How could he think that those, who had formerly under Scipio conquered Antiochus, and who had

[17] There is something extremely improbable in this. It does not appear, that Mithridates was so totally blocked up by Lucullus, as to be reduced to this extremity; and even had that been the case, it would have been more eligible to have risked a battle, than to have submitted to the dreadful alternative here mentioned. But wherefore eat human flesh, when we are afterward expressly told, that they had beasts to send away?

[18] In a passage not now extant. Livy expressly tells us, there were camels in Antiochus' army. 'Before the cavalry were placed the chariots, armed with sithes, and camels of the species called Dromedaries.' (xxxvii. 40.)

lately defeated Archelaüs at Orchomenus and Chæronea, should be unacquainted with that animal?

Mithridates now resolved upon a speedy flight; and, in order to amuse Lucullus with employment in another quarter, sent his admiral Aristonicus to the Grecian sea. But just as he was on the point of sailing, he was betrayed to Lucullus together with ten thousand pieces of gold, which he took with him to corrupt some part of the Roman forces. After this, Mithridates made his escape by sea, and left his generals to get off with the army in the best manner they could. Lucullus coming up with them at the river Granicus killed full twenty thousand, and made a prodigious number of prisoners. It is asserted, that in this campaign the enemy lost nearly three hundred thousand men, including the servants of the army as well as the soldiers.

Lucullus immediately entered Cyzicum, where he was received with every testimony of respect and joy. After which he went to the Hellespont, to collect ships to make up a fleet. Upon this occasion he touched at Troäs, and slept there in the temple of Venus. That goddess, he dreamed, stood by him, and addressed him as follows:

Sleep'st thou, dread lion, when the fawns are near thee?

Upon this, he rose; and, calling together his friends while it was yet dark, related to them the vision. He had scarcely made an end, when messengers arrived from Ilium with an account, that they had seen off the Grecian harbour [19] thirteen of the king's large galleys steering toward Lemnos. He instantly went in pursuit of them, took them, and killed their admiral Isidorus. When this was done, he made all the sail he could after some others, which were a-head of them. These lay at anchor by the island; and as soon as the officers perceived his approach,

[19] Plutarch means the harbour, where the Greeks landed, when they were going to the siege of Troy.

they hauled them ashore, and fighting from the decks galled the Romans exceedingly. For they could not surround them; neither could their galleys, from the continual fluctuation of the waves, make any impression upon the others, placed as they were on firm ground and immoveable. At last, having with much difficulty found a landing-place, he disembarked some of his troops, who taking them in the rear killed many of them, and forced the rest to cut their cables and stand out to sea. In the confusion, the vessels dashed against each other, or fell upon the beaks of those of Lucullus. The destruction, consequently, was immense. Marius, the general sent by Sertorius, was among the prisoners. He had but one eye; and Lucullus, when he first set sail, had given his men a strict charge not to kill any one-eyed person, in order that he might be reserved for a death of greater torture and disgrace.

After this, he himself hastened to pursue Mithridates, whom he hoped to find in Bithynia blocked up by Voconius. He had sent this officer forward with a fleet to Nicomedia[20], to prevent the king's escape. But Voconius had loitered in Samothrace, about getting himself initiated in the Mysteries[21], and celebrating festivals. Mithridates in the mean time had set sail with his fleet, and was making strenuous efforts to reach Pontus, before Lucullus could arrive to stop him. But a violent tempest overtook him, by which many of his ships were

[20] A city in Bithynia, not far from the Propontis.*

[21] The Mysteries of the Cabiri. The worship of these gods was probably brought from Phœnicia; for *cabir*, in the language of that country, signifies 'powerful.' They were reverenced as the most tremendous of superior beings; the more so, because of the mysterious and awful solemnities of their worship. Some have pretended to give us an account of their names, though they were locked up in the profoundest secrecy. (L.) In these Mysteries women and children were initiated, Ter. Phorm. I. i. 15. They have lately been made the subject of an elaborate disquisition by the Rev. G. S. Faber, Vicar of Stockton upon Tees. A French writer likewise, M. de Sainte-Croix, in his '*Mystères du Paganisme*,' has treated the topic with great and profound detail.*

dashed to pieces, and many sunk: and the whole beach was covered with the wreck, which the sea threw up for several days. As for the king himself, the vessel in which he sailed was so large, that the pilots could not make land with it amidst such a terrible agitation of the waves; and it was by this time ready to founder, with the water which it had shipped. He therefore got into a shallop belonging to some pirates, and trusting his life to their hands, was beyond all hope and expectation brought safe to Heraclea in Pontus.

In this war Lucullus behaved to the senate of Rome with an honest pride, which had it's success. They had decreed him three thousand talents, to enable him to fit out a fleet. But he wrote to them, that he had no need of money; and boasted that, without so much expense and such mighty preparations, he would drive Mithridates out of the sea with the ships which the allies would give him. And, by the assistance of a superior power, he performed his promise. For the tempest, which ruined the Pontic fleet, is said to have been raised by the resentment of Diana of Priapus [22], in consequence of their having plundered her temple and beaten down her statue.

Lucullus was now advised by many of his officers to suspend the prosecution of the war; but, without regarding their opinion, he penetrated into the kingdom of Pontus by the way of Bithynia and Galatia. At first he found provisions so scarce, that he was obliged to order thirty thousand Gauls to follow him, with each a measure of wheat upon his shoulders. But as he proceeded farther in his march, and bore down all opposition, he came to such plenty, that an ox was sold for one drachma and a slave for four. The rest of the booty was so little regarded, that some left it behind them, and others destroyed

[22] A maritime city of Mysia, situated upon the Hellespont near the common mouth of the Æsepus and the Granicus.*

it; for, amidst such abundance, they could not find a purchaser. Having, in the excursions of their cavalry, laid waste all the country as far as Themiscyræ and about the river Thermodon, they complained that Lucullus took all the towns by capitulation instead of storm, and gave not up a single one to the soldiers for plunder. "Now," said they, "you are leaving Amisus a rich and flourishing city, "which might be easily taken, if you would assault "it vigorously; and drag us after Mithridates, into "the wastes of Tibarene and Chaldæa [23]."

Lucullus however, not imagining that they would break out into that rage which subsequently made it's appearance, neglected their remonstrances. He was more solicitous to excuse himself to those, who blamed his slow progress, and his losing time in reducing towns and villages of little consequence, while Mithridates was again gathering power. "This is the very thing," said he, "that I am wish-"ing and contriving in all my operations; that "Mithridates may get strength, and collect an "army respectable enough to make him stand an en-"gagement, and not continue to fly before us. Do "not you see, what vast and boundless deserts lie be-"hind him? Is not Caucasus with all it's immense "train of mountains at hand, sufficient to hide him "and numberless other kings beside, who may seek "to avoid a battle? It is but a few days' journey "from the country of the Cabiri [24] into Armenia, "where Tigranes 'the king of kings' is seated; "surrounded with that power which has wrested

[23] The country of the 'Chalybes,' for so the Chaldæi, &c. of Asia were denominated, from their being employed in the manufacture of iron and steel (Strabo x., Xenoph. Anab. iv.) is the place here alluded to: it lay immediately to the east of Tibarene. Amisus was situated between the rivers Halys and Iris*.

[24] Hence it appears, as well as from a passage in Strabo, that there was a district on the borders of Phrygia, called 'The country of the Cabiri.' The worship of those gods indeed had prevailed in several parts of Asia, and they are supposed to have had homage paid to them at Rome under the title of *Divi Potes*.

"Asia from the Parthians, which carries Grecian colo-
"nies into Media, subdues Syria and Palestine, cuts
"off the Seleucidæ, and leads their wives and
"daughters into captivity. This prince is nearly
"allied to Mithridates; he is his son-in-law. Do
"you think he will disregard him, when he comes
"as a suppliant, and not take up arms in his cause?
"Why will you therefore be in such haste to drive
"Mithridates out of his dominions, and risk bring-
"ing Tigranes upon us, who has long been seeking a
"pretence for it? And surely he cannot find a more
"specious one, than that of succouring a father-in-
"law, and a king reduced to such extreme necessity.
"What need is there then for us to push this affair,
"and to teach Mithridates (what he may not other-
"wise know) who are the confederates he is to so-
"licit against us; or to drive him, against his incli-
"nation and his notions of honour, into the arms
"of Tigranes? Is it not better to give him time to
"make preparations, and regain strength in his own
"territories; that we may have to encounter the
"Colchians, Tibarenians, and Cappadocians, whom
"we have often beaten, rather than the unknown
"forces of the Medes and the Armenians?"

Agreeably to these sentiments, Lucullus spent a long time before Amisus, proceeding very slowly in the siege. At the expiration of the winter, however, he left that charge to Murena, and marched against Mithridates, who was encamped on the plains of the Cabiri with a resolution to wait for the Romans there. His army consisted of forty thousand foot and four thousand horse, which he had lately collected; and in these he placed the utmost confidence. Nay, he passed the river Lycus, and gave the Romans the challenge to meet him in the field. In consequence of this, the cavalry engaged, and the Romans were put to the rout. Pomponius, a man of some dignity, was wounded and taken. Though much indisposed with his wounds, he was brought before Mithridates, who asked him; "Whether, if

" his life were spared, he would become his friend?" "On condition that you will be reconciled to the "Romans," said he, "I will: but if not, I must "still remain your enemy." The king, struck with admiration of his patriotism, did him no injury.

Lucullus was apprehensive of farther danger on the plain, on account of the enemy's superiority in horse; and yet he was loth to proceed to the mountains, which were at a considerable distance, as well as woody and difficult of ascent. While he was in this perplexity, some Greeks [25] happened to be taken, who had hidden themselves in a cave. Of these the eldest, Artemidorus, undertook to conduct him to a post where he might encamp with the utmost security, and where stood a castle which commanded the plain of the Cabiri. Lucullus gave credit to his report, and began his march in the night, after he had caused a number of fires to be lighted in his old camp. Having safely cleared the narrow passes, he gained the heights; and in the morning appeared above the enemy's heads, in a situation where he might fight with advantage when he chose it, and might not be compelled to it, if he preferred sitting still.

At present, neither Lucullus nor Mithridates was inclined to risk a battle; but, some of the king's soldiers happening to pursue a deer, a party of Romans went out to intercept them. This brought on a sharp skirmish, numbers continually coming up on each side. At length the king's troops had the advantage.

The Romans, beholding from the camp the flight of their fellow-soldiers, were greatly disturbed, and ran to Lucullus to entreat him to lead them out, and give the signal for battle. But he, willing to show them of how much weight in all struggles the exigency of the danger and the sight of an able

[25] Most probably some, who had been previously carried into Armenia by Tigranes.*

general are, ordered them to stand still; and descending into the plain himself, seized the foremost of the fugitives, and commanded them to face about. They obeyed; and the rest rallying with them, they easily put the enemy to flight, and pursued them to their entrenchments. Lucullus, upon his return, inflicted on the fugitives the usual punishment. He made them strip to their vests, take off their girdles, and then dig a trench twelve feet long, the rest of the troops all the while standing and looking on.

In the army of Mithridates there was a Dardarian grandee, named Olthacus. The Dardarians are one of the barbarous tribes, who live near the lake Mæotis [26]. Olthacus was a man fit for every warlike attempt that required strength and courage, and in counsel and contrivance inferior to none. Beside these accomplishments, he was affable and courteous in the commerce of the world. He was always involved however in some dispute or jealousy with the other great men of his country, who like himself aimed at the chief authority in it; and in order to secure the support of Mithridates, he undertook the daring enterprise of killing Lucullus. Mithridates commended his design, and, to afford him a pretence for his resentment, publicly gave him some affronts. Olthacus laid hold on it, and rode off to Lucullus, who received him with pleasure. For his reputation was well known in the camp; and the Roman general upon trial found his presence of mind and his address so extraordinary, that he took him to his table and his council-board.

When the Dardarian thought he had found his opportunity, he ordered his servants to have his horse ready without the camp. It was now mid-day, and the soldiers were sitting in the sun, or otherwise reposing themselves, when he went to the general's pavilion; expecting, that none would pretend to obstruct the entrance of a man who was intimate

[26] *Hod.* the Sea of Asoph.

with Lucullus, and who said he had business of importance to communicate. And he would certainly have been admitted, had not sleep, which has been the ruin of many other generals, proved Lucullus' protection. But Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, then in waiting, told Olthacus, "This was not "a proper time to see his master, who after long "watching and fatigue was now enjoying a little "rest." Olthacus however, not taking this denial, replied; "I must enter, whether you will or not, "for I have important and necessary business to lay "before him." Upon which Menedemus, incensed at his insolence, answered, "Nothing is more neces-"sary than the preservation of Lucullus;" and thrust him back with both hands. Olthacus, fearing his design was discovered, withdrew privately from the camp, took horse, and returned to Mithridates without having effected any thing. Thus the crisis in other matters, as well as in medicine, either saves or destroys.

After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to escort a convoy. Mithridates detached against him one of his officers, named Menander. An engagement ensued, and the barbarians were routed with considerable loss. At another time Lucullus despatched Adrianus, with a considerable corps, to protect the party employed in collecting provisions and supplying his camp. Mithridates did not let him pass unnoticed, but sent Menemachus and Myron against them, with a strong body of cavalry and another of infantry. All these combatants, except two, the Romans put to the sword. Mithridates dissembled his loss, pretending that it was small, and entirely owing to the misconduct of the commanding officers. But when Adrianus passed by his camp in great pomp, with many waggons loaded with provisions and rich spoils in his train, the king's spirits began to droop, and the most distressing terror fell upon his army. They determined, therefore, to quit that post.

Accordingly, the nobility about the king began to send off their baggage with all the privacy they could, but they would not suffer others to do the same. The soldiers, finding themselves jostled and thrust back in the gate-ways, were so much provoked that they turned upon them, fell to plundering the baggage, and killed several of them. Dorylaüs, one of the generals, lost his life for nothing but a purple robe which he wore. Hermæus, a priest, was trodden under foot at the gate. Mithridates himself, without any attendant or groom to assist him, got out of the camp amidst the crowd. Of all his royal stud, there was not a single horse left him; but at last Ptolemy the eunuch, seeing him carried along with the torrent, and happening to be on horseback, dismounted and gave him his. The Romans pressed hard upon him, and indeed came up time enough to have taken him. He was, in fact, almost absolutely in their hands; but in their covetousness, and military fondness for trifles, he found his safety. The prey, which had been pursued through numberless conflicts and dangers, escaped; and the victorious Lucullus was robbed of the reward of his toils. The horse which the king rode, was nearly overtaken; when a mule loaded with gold, either by accident or by the king's contrivance, came between him and his pursuers. The soldiers immediately began to rifle the load, and quarrelled about the contents, which gave Mithridates time to get off. Nor was this the only disadvantage, which Lucullus experienced from their avarice. Callistratus the king's secretary was taken, and the Roman general had ordered him to be brought before him; but those who had the charge of it, perceiving he had five hundred crowns in his girdle, despatched him[27]. Yet to such men as these, he gave up the plunder of the enemy's camp.

[27] Thus depriving Lucullus of all the intelligence, which he might have derived from the papers and communications of such an important captive.*

After this, he took Cabira, and many other places of strength, in which he found much treasure. He likewise found in their prisons many Greeks, and several of the king's own relations confined; and, as they had long considered themselves in the most desperate circumstances, the liberty which they now gained through Lucullus appeared to them not so much a deliverance, as a resurrection and a new life. One of the king's sisters named Nyssa, happily for her, was of the number. The other sisters and wives of Mithridates, who seemed placed more remote from danger and disturbance at Phernacia, all miserably perished: for he despatched the eunuch Bacchides thither, with orders to see them put to death.

Among the rest were two of his sisters, Roxana and Statira, who were about the age of forty, and still virgins; and two of his wives, both Ionians, Berenice of Chios and Monime of Miletus. The latter was much celebrated among the Greeks. Though the king had tried every expedient to bring her to listen to a lawless passion, and made her a present of fifteen thousand crowns at one time, she rejected all his solicitations till he agreed to marry her, sent her a diadem, and declared her his queen. Before the last sad message, she had passed her time very unhappily, and looked with grief upon that beauty, which instead of a husband had procured her a despot, and instead of the domestic comforts of marriage a guard of barbarians. Banished far from Greece, she had lost the real blessings of life, and where she hoped for happiness, had found nothing but a dream.

When Bacchides came, and informed those princesses that they must die, but that they were at liberty to choose the death most easy and agreeable to them; Monime snatched the diadem from her head, and applied it to her neck, that it might execute the fatal office. But it broke; and the princess exclaimed, "O cursed band! wouldest thou not, at "least, serve me upon this occasion?" Then spit-

ting upon it, she threw it from her, and stretched out her neck to Bacchides.

Berenice took poison; and, as her mother who was present begged a share of it, she granted her request. They both drank of it, and it's force operated sufficiently upon the weaker body; but Berenice, not having taken a sufficient quantity, was long a-dying. Bacchides, therefore, strangled her. Roxana one of the unmarried sisters, after having vented the most bitter imprecations and reproaches against Mithridates, took poison. Statira, however, died without one unkind or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother, when he must have had his anxieties about his own life, for not having forgotten them, but provided that they might die free and undishonoured. These events gave great concern to the native goodness and humanity of Lucullus.

He continued his pursuit of Mithridates as far as Talaura, where having learned that he was fled four days before to Tigranes into Armenia, he turned back again. He subdued however the Chaldæans and Tibarenians, and reduced Armenia the Less, with the towns and castles. He then sent Appius to Tigranes, to demand Mithridates; and in the mean time returned to Amisus, which his troops were still besieging. The length of the siege was owing to Callimachus, who commanded in the town, an able engineer skilled in every art of defence. By this he gave the Romans much trouble, for which he subsequently suffered. But Lucullus availed himself of a stratagem, against which he had not guarded. He ordered a sudden assault at the time, when Callimachus used to draw off his men for refreshment. Thus he made himself master of some part of the wall; upon which Callimachus, either envying the Romans the plunder of the place, or with a view to facilitate his own escape, set fire to the town and quitted it. For no one paid any attention to those, who fled by sea. The flames spread

with great rapidity round the walls, and the soldiers prepared themselves to pillage the houses. Lucullus, in commiseration of a fine city thus sinking into ruin, endeavoured to assist it from without, and ordered his troops to extinguish the fire. They paid no regard to him however, but went on collecting the spoils, and clashing their arms; till he was forced to give up the plunder to them, in hopes of saving the city from the flames. But the event turned out quite the reverse: for in rummaging every corner, with torches in their hands, they set fire to many of the houses themselves. So that, when Lucullus entered the town next morning, he said to his friends, with tears in his eyes; "I have "often admired the good fortune of Sylla, but never "so much as I do this day. He desired to save "Athens, and succeeded. I wished to imitate him "upon this occasion: but, instead of that, the gods "have classed me with Mummius [28]."

Nevertheless, he endeavoured to restore the place, as far as it's unhappy circumstances would permit. A shower, which providentially fell about the time of it's capture, extinguished the fire, and saved many of the buildings; and, during his stay, he rebuilt most of those which had been destroyed. Such of the inhabitants also as had fled, he received with pleasure, and added to them a draught of other Greeks, who were willing to settle there. He gave them, likewise, a territory of a hundred and twenty furlongs.

The city was a colony of Athenians, planted at a time when their power was at the height, and they were masters of the seas. Hence it was, that those who escaped from the tyranny of Aristion retired to Amisus, and were admitted to the privilege of citizens; thus fortunately gaining abroad, what they had lost at home. The remainder Lucullus now clothed in an honourable manner, gave each of them

[28] The destroyer of Corinth, B. C. 146.

two hundred drachmas, and sent them back into their own country. Tyrannio[29], the grammarian, was of the number. Murena begged him of Lucullus, and afterward enfranchised him; in which he acted ungenerously by the present of his superior officer. Lucullus would not have been willing, that a man so honoured for his learning should be first considered as a slave, and then set free. For the real liberty to which he was born must be taken away, before he could have this seeming freedom. But this was not the only instance, in which Murena acted with less generosity than became an officer of his distinction.

Lucullus then turned toward the cities of Asia; that he might bestow the time, which was not employed in war, on the promotion of law and justice. These had long lost their influence in that province, which was overwhelmed with unspeakable misfortunes. It was desolated and enslaved by the farmers of the revenue, and by usurers. The poor inhabitants were forced to sell the most beautiful of their sons and daughters, the ornaments and offerings in their temples, their paintings, and the statues of their gods. Their last resource was, to serve their creditors as slaves. Their sufferings, prior to this, had been still more cruel and insupportable; prisons, racks, tortures, exposures to the burning sun in summer, and in winter to extreme cold amidst ice or mire: insomuch that servitude seemed a happy deliverance, and a scene of peace. Lucullus, finding the cities in such dreadful distress, soon rescued the oppressed from all their burthens.

In the first place, he ordered the creditors not to take above one per cent. for a month's interest[30]: he next abolished all interest, which exceeded the principal: the third and most important regulation was, that the creditor should not seize more than a

[29] See the Life of Sylla, p. 267, not. (37).*

[30] This was the legal interest among the Romans; whence we may learn the comparative scarcity of money in those times.

fourth part of the debtor's income. And, if any one added the interest to his capital, he was to lose all. By these means within less than four years all the debts were paid, and the estates restored free to their proprietors. The public fine, which Sylla had laid upon Asia, was twenty thousand talents. This had been twice paid; and yet the merciless collectors, by usurious claims, had now made it amount to a hundred and twenty thousand talents.

These men, pretending that they had been unjustly treated, raised a clamour in Rome against Lucullus, and hired a number of popular orators to speak against him. They had indeed a considerable interest, because many persons who possessed a share in the administration were their debtors. Lucullus, on the other hand, was not only beloved by the nations which had experienced his good offices, but the hearts of the other provinces also were his, and they longed for a governor who had rendered such numbers happy.

Appius Clodius, who had been sent embassador to Tigranes by Lucullus, and who was his wife's brother, at first fell under the direction of guides who were subjects to Mithridates. These men made him take an unnecessary circuit of many days' journey in the Upper Countries; but at last an enfranchised servant of his, a Syrian by nation, discovered to him the imposition, and showed him the right road. He then bade adieu to his barbarian guides, and in a few days passed the Euphrates, and reached Antioch of Daphne [11].

There he had orders to wait for Tigranes, who was at that time employed in reducing some cities of Phœnicia; and he found means to bring over to

[11] Among several cities of that name, this was the principal. It was called by way of distinction, 'The Antioch of Daphne.' Daphne was a beautiful village, about forty furlongs from it, consecrated to the nymph of that name, and adorned with groves of a large extent (several of them probably of laurel) in the midst of which stood the temple of Apollo and Diana. The grove and temple were a sanctuary.

the Roman interest many princes, who had submitted to the Armenian out of pure necessity. Among these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. A number of the cities likewise, which Tigranes had conquered, privately sent deputies to Clodius; and received from him in return, a promise of all the succour which Lucullus could give, coupled with a request that they would make no immediate resistance. The Armenian government was, indeed, an insupportable burthen to the Greeks. The king's pride in particular, through a long course of prosperity, had become so enormously arrogant, that he thought whatever was great and admirable in the eyes of the world was not only subject to his power, but even made for his use. For, though his prospects at first were but small and contemptible, he had subdued many nations, and humbled the Parthian power more than any prince before him. He had colonised Mesopotamia with Greeks, whom he draughted in great numbers out of Cilicia and Cappadocia. He had drawn the Scenite[32] Arabians from their wandering way of life, and placed them nearer to Armenia, that he might avail himself of their mercantile abilities. He had many kings at his court in the capacity of servants, and four[33] in particular as mace-bearers or footmen, who whenever he rode on horseback ran before him in short jackets, and when he sat to give audience, stood by with their hands clasped together; which last circumstance seems a mark of the lowest slavery, a token that they had not only resigned their liberty, but that they had likewise surrendered to their master their body itself rather to suffer than to act.

Appius, not in the least disconcerted by all this

[32] So called, probably, from their living in tents.

[33] Hume, upon the authority of W. Malmesb. and Hoveden, informs us of an English prince (Edgar), who 'obliged twice that number of tributary princes to row him in a barge upon the Dee.' But kings were then as numerous in this island, as they have lately become in the west of Germany, where the name of 'king-maker' has been won from our English Warwick by a wholesale manufacturer of the article. (1806.)*

pomp, plainly set forth his commission at his first audience: "that he was come to demand Mithri-"dates, whom Lucullus claimed for his triumph; "otherwise, he must declare war against Tigranes." Whatever efforts that prince made to receive the message with an easy countenance, and a kind of smile, it was visible to all that he was affected with the young man's bold address. This was indeed the first free speech, which he had heard for five and twenty years; for so long he had been a king, or rather a tyrant. The answer however, which he returned to Appius was, "that he would not deliver "up Mithridates; and, if the Romans began the "war, he was able to defend himself." He was displeased with Lucullus for having given him, in his letter, barely the title of 'king,' and not that of 'king of kings;' and therefore, in his reply, he would not address him as '*Imperator*.' This did not prevent him, however, from sending magnificent presents to Appius; and, when he found he did not accept them, he sent more. At last Appius, that he might not seem to reject them out of any particular pique, took a cup, and sent back all the rest. He then returned with the utmost expedition to his general.

Before this, Tigranes had not deigned to admit Mithridates into his presence, nor to speak to a prince who was so nearly allied to him, and who had lately lost so great a kingdom. He had contemptuously sent him to remote marshes and a sickly air, where he was kept like a prisoner. But he now recalled him to court, with great marks of honour and regard. In a private conference, they exculpated themselves at the expense of their friends. Metrodorus the Scepsian was of the number, an able speaker and a man of extensive erudition, who had been in such high favour that he was stiled 'The king's father.' When he went embassador (it seems) from Mithridates to the Armenian court, to beg assistance against the Romans, Tigranes said;

"What would you, Metrodorus, advise me to do in "this case?" Whether it were that he had the interest of Tigranes in view, or wished to see Mithridates absolutely ruined, he replied, "As an embas-"sador, I should exhort you to comply; but, as "your counsellor, to refuse." Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not imagining that he would resent it in the savage manner he did. Metrodorus, however, was immediately put to death; and Tigranes greatly repented the step which he had taken, though he had not been absolutely the cause of that event, but only added stings to the hatred which Mithridates had long entertained against his minister. This appeared, when his private memorandums were seized, in which Metrodorus was found among those marked out for the ax. Tigranes buried him honourably, and though he had in his life-time betrayed him, spared no expense in his funeral.

Amphicrates the orator likewise, if we may be allowed to record his name for the sake of Athens, died at that court. He is said to have been banished from his country, and to have retired to Seleucia upon the Tigris, where the inhabitants desired him to open a school of rhetoric; but he answered in the most contemptuous manner, and with all the vanity of a sophist, "that a plate could not contain a dolphin." Thence he went to the court of Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, where he soon rendered himself so obnoxious, that he was forbidden all intercourse with the Greeks, upon which he starved himself to death. Cleopatra bestowed upon him likewise a magnificent funeral, and his tomb is near a place called Sapha.

Lucullus, having established peace and good laws in Asia, did not neglect what might be conducive to elegance and pleasure; but during his stay at Ephesus entertained the Grecian cities with shows, triumphal feasts, and trials of skill between wrestlers and gladiators. The cities in return instituted a feast to his honour, called 'Lucullia;' and the real affec-

tion which inspired them with the thought, was more agreeable than the honour itself.

When Appius was returned, and had acquainted him that it was necessary to go to war with Tigranes, he went back to Pontus, and placed himself at the head of his troops. His first operation was to lay siege to Sinope, or rather to a corps of Cilicians of the king's party, who had thrown themselves into that town. These, upon the approach of Lucullus, put a great number of the inhabitants to the sword, and after setting fire to the city, endeavoured to escape in the night. But Lucullus, discovering their intention, entered the town; and having killed eight thousand of them who were left behind, restored to the old inhabitants their effects, and strenuously exerted himself in saving the town from the flames. His particular inducement was the following dream: A person appeared in his sleep to stand by him, and say, "Go forward, Lucullus; for Autolycus is coming "to meet you." When he awaked, he could form no conjecture about the signification of the dream. He took the city however the same day, and in pursuing the Cilicians to their ships saw a statue lying on the shore, which they had not been able to get on board. This was one of the master-pieces of Sthenis; and he learned that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope [34]. Autolycus is said to have been the son of Deïmachus, and one of those Thessalians who assisted Hercules in the war against the Amazons. In his voyage back, along with Demoleon and Phlogius, his ship struck on a rock of the Chersonese called Pedalion, and foundered. He and his friends however saved their lives and arms, and

34 This Autolycus is likewise mentioned, with some of these circumstances, by Strabo (xii.) as having been probably one of the Argonauts, and established himself at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia on the Euxine near the mouth of the Halys, on his return. Upon his death he received divine honours, and had an oracle at that place.*

went to Sinope, which they took from the Syrians; so called (we are told) as being the descendents of Syrus, the son of Apollo and Sinope the daughter of Asopus. When Lucullus heard this, he recollected the observation of Sylla in his commentaries, "That nothing more deserves our belief and attention, than what is signified to us in dreams."

After intelligence was brought that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia with their whole forces, in order to seize Asia before him, he could not help thinking it strange that the Armenian had not made use of Mithridates when in his glory, and joined the armies of Pontus while they were in their full strength, but suffered them to be broken and destroyed; and now at last with cold hopes of success began the war, or rather threw himself down headlong with those, who could stand no longer. Amidst these transactions Machares the son of Mithridates, who was master of the Bosporus, sent Lucullus a coronet of gold of a thousand crowns' value, and begged to be numbered among the friends and allies of Rome.

Lucullus, concluding that the first war was finished, left Sornatius with a corps of six thousand men to settle the affairs of that province; and, with twelve thousand foot and less than three thousand horse, marched to begin another. It seemed amazing and irrational temerity to go with a mere handful of men against so many warlike nations, so many myriads of cavalry, and such a vast country, intersected with deep rivers and barricaded with mountains eternally covered with snow. His soldiers of course, who were not otherwise under the best discipline, followed him with great reluctance and were ready to mutiny. On the other hand, the popular orators clamoured against him in Rome, representing that he commenced war after war; not that the public utility required it, but that he might always retain the command and continue in arms, accumulating riches

at the risk of the commonwealth. These at last succeeded in their design [which was, to get him recalled].

He reached the Euphrates, however, by long marches; and finding it swoln and muddied by the late rains, he was apprehensive he should have much delay and difficulty in collecting boats, and making a bridge of them. But in the evening the flood began to subside, and lessened in such a manner in the night, that next morning the river appeared considerably within it's channel. The people of the country observing little islands in it's bed, which had seldom been visible, and the stream breaking gently about them, considered Lucullus as something more than mortal. For they saw the great river put on a mild and obliging air to him, and afford him a quick and easy passage.

He availed himself of the opportunity, and passed it with his army. Immediately afterward, an auspicious omen appeared. A number of heifers sacred to the Persian Diana, the goddess whom the inhabitants of those parts particularly worship, were pasturing on the other side. These heifers are used only in the way of sacrifice; at other times they ranged at large, marked with the figure of a torch [35] as a token of their designation; and it was difficult to take them, when they were wanted. But now the army had no sooner crossed the river, than one of them went and stood by a rock deemed sacred to the goddess, and hanging down her head in the manner of those which are bound, offered herself to Lucullus as a victim. He sacrificed also a bull to the Euphrates, on account of his safe passage.

There he rested that whole day, to refresh his army. The next he marched forward through Sophene,

[35] As emblematical of Diana, the torch of the night. The custom of marking animals with an iron is very ancient, being alluded to in Anacreon. Herds, of the kind here spoken of, were common in the Pagan world: such were 'the oxen of the sun,' mentioned in the Odyssey, &c.*

without doing the least injury to those, who submitted and received his troops in a proper manner. Nay, when his men wished to stop and take a fort supposed to be full of treasure, he pointed to mount Taurus in the distance, and said, "Yonder is the fort, which "you are to take; as for these things, they will of "course belong to the conqueror:" and then, pushing his march, he crossed the Tigris and entered Armenia.

As Tigranes ordered the first man who brought him an account of the enemy's arrival, to lose his head for his reward, no one afterward presumed to mention it. He remained in ignorance, though the hostile fire already touched him; and with pleasure heard his flatterers say, "Lucullus would be a courageous "general, if he durst await Tigranes at Ephesus, "and did not quit Asia at the very sight of his im- "mense armies." Thus it is not every constitution which can bear much wine, neither can an ordinary mind endure great prosperity without staggering. The first of his friends, who ventured to tell him the truth, was Mithrobarzanes; and he was but ill rewarded for the liberty, which he had taken. He was sent against Lucullus, at the head of three thousand horse and a more respectable body of foot, with orders to take the Roman general alive, but to tread the rest under his feet.

Part of the Roman forces were pitching their tents, and the rest were upon the march, when their scouts brought intelligence that the barbarians were at hand. Lucullus therefore had his apprehensions that, if they attacked him before his troops were all assembled and formed, they might be thrown into disorder. He therefore set about entrenching himself: and in the mean time despatched his lieutenant Sextilius, with sixteen hundred horse and not many more infantry, including both the light and the heavy-armed, with orders when he approached the enemy, to stop and amuse them, till he should be informed that the entrenchments were finished.

Sextilius was anxious to obey his orders, but Mithrobarzanes came upon him so boldly, that he was forced to fight. Mithrobarzanes behaved with great bravery, but he fell in the action; upon which his troops took to flight, and were most of them cut in pieces.

After this Tigranes left Tigranocerta, the great city which he had built, and retired to mount Taurus, where he intended to collect all his forces. But Lucullus, not giving him much time for preparation, sent Murena to harass and cut off the parties on one side, as fast as they came up; and on the other side, Sextilius advanced against a large corps of Arabians, which was going to join the king. These he attacked as they were encamping, and killed the greatest part of them. Murena following the steps of Tigranes, seized an opportunity of falling upon him, as he was leading a large army along a rugged and narrow defile. The king himself fled, abandoning the whole of his baggage. Many of the Armenians were put to the sword, and still more made prisoners.

Lucullus after this success marched against Tigranocerta, and invested it with his army. There were in that city many Greeks, who had been transplanted out of Cilicia, and many barbarians whose fortune had been no better than that of the Greeks; Adiabenians, Assyrians, Gordyenians, and Cappadocians, whose cities Tigranes had demolished, and removing the inhabitants, compelled them to settle in that which he had built. The place was full of treasure, and rich ornaments; every private person as well as grandee, in order to make their court to the king, striving which should contribute most to it's improvement and decoration. For this reason, Lucullus carried on the siege with great vigour; thinking that Tigranes would, contrary to his better judgment, be provoked to give him battle. And he was not mistaken. Mithridates, by messengers and letters, strongly dissuaded the king from hazarding a battle, and advised him only to cut off the Roman convoys

with his cavalry. Taxiles too, who came on the part of Mithridates to co-operate with Tigranes, entreated him to avoid encountering the Roman arms which, he assured him, were invincible.

At first, the king heard him with patience. But when the Armenians and Gordyenians arrived with all their forces, when the kings of the Medes, and Adiabenians had brought in their armies, when the Arabians poured in from the coasts of the Babylonian[36] sea, and the Albanians and their neighbours the Iberians from the Caspian (beside a considerable body, gained by presents and persuasion, from those nations about the Araxes which live without regal government) then nothing was expressed at the king's table or council board, but sanguine hopes and barbarian menaces. Taxiles was in danger of his life for having attempted to oppose the resolution of engaging, and Mithridates himself was accused of envying the glorious successes awaiting the arms of his son-in-law.

Tigranes therefore would not tarry for him, lest he should share with him the honour of the victory, but immediately advanced with his whole forces; and is said to have expressed to his friends great uneasiness, "That he should have to do only with Lucullus, "and not try his strength at once against all the generals of Rome." His boasts indeed do not appear entirely frantic and destitute of reason, when he was surveying so many nations and princes under his standard, such astonishing numbers of heavy-armed infantry and so many myriads of cavalry. He had twenty thousand archers and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horse, of which seventeen thousand (according to the account sent by Lucullus to the senate) were completely clad in steel. His infantry, divided into companies and battalions, consisted of a hundred and fifty thousand men; and there were thirty-five

[36] The Persian gulf. The Araxes, mentioned below (*hod.* the Arafs), rises in mount Taurus, and falls into the Caspian sea.*

thousand pioneers and other labourers to make roads, prepare bridges, cleanse the courses of rivers, provide wood, and answer all the other occasions of the army. These were drawn up behind, to give it a more formidable appearance of strength and numbers.

When he had passed mount Taurus, and spread his troops upon the plain, he could see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta. The mixed multitude of barbarians in the city likewise saw him, and in a menacing manner pointed to their king's armies from the walls.

Lucullus, before the battle, held a council of war. Some advised him to quit the siege, and meet Tigranes with all his forces; others were of opinion, that he should continue the siege, and not leave so many enemies behind him. He told them, that "Neither "separately gave good counsel, but both together "did." He therefore divided his forces, and left Murena before the place with six thousand men; while he with the rest of the infantry, consisting of twenty-four cohorts which contained not more than ten thousand combatants, the whole of his cavalry, and about a thousand slingers and archers, marched against Tigranes.

He encamped on a large plain with a river before him; where his army appeared so very inconsiderable, as to afford much matter of mirth to the royal flatterers. Some, ridiculed it's diminutive appearance; others, by way of jest, cast lots for the spoil[37]: and there was not one of the generals and princes, who did not express his desire to be employed exclusively upon that service, while Tigranes should only sit still and look on. The king likewise, thinking it necessary to show himself facetious and sarcastic upon the occasion, made use of the celebrated expression, "That if they came as embassadors, there were too

[37] So the grandees of France are said to have done, previously to the fatal battle of Agincourt.—'Who will go to hazard with me for twenty English prisoners?' (Shaksp. Hen. V. iii. 7.)*

"many of them; if as soldiers, too few." Thus they passed the first day in mirth and raillery.

The next morning early, Lucullus drew out his army. The camp of the barbarians was on the eastern side of the river. But the current, where it is most fordable, makes a bend to the west. As Lucullus marched hastily down toward that quarter, Tigranes thought he was retreating. Upon this, he called out to Taxiles, and said with a scornful smile, "Seest "thou not these invincible Roman legions taking to "flight?" Taxiles answered, "I sincerely wish, my "lord, that your good genius may work a miracle in your favour; but these legions do not use their "best accoutrements in a mere march. They do not "wear their polished shields, nor take their bright "helmets out of their cases, as you see they have "now done. All this splendid appearance indicates "their intention to fight, and to advance against "their enemies as fast as possible." While Taxiles was yet speaking, they saw the eagle of the foremost legion make a motion to the right by Lucullus' order, and the cohorts proceed in good order to pass the river.

Upon this, Tigranes with much difficulty awaked from his intoxication, and exclaimed two or three times, "Are these men then really coming against "us?" After this he drew out his forces in a hasty and disorderly manner; taking himself the command of the main body, and giving the left wing to the king of the Adiabenians, and the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this right wing were placed most of the cavalry, who were armed in steel.

As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of his officers admonished him to beware of that day which was one of the inauspicious, or (as they call them) black ones to the Romans: for upon that day, Cæpio's army had been defeated by the Cimbri. Lucullus returned the memorable answer, "I will make "this day, too, an auspicious one for Rome." It was the sixth of October.

Having thus spoken, and exhorted his men to exert themselves, he advanced at their head against the enemy. He was armed with a breast-plate of steel formed in scales, which cast a surprising lustre; and the robe which he wore over it, was adorned with fringe. He immediately drew his sword, to show his troops the necessity of coming hand to hand with an adversary accustomed to fight at a distance, and by the vigour of their charge of not leaving them room to exercise their missive weapons. Observing that the enemy's heavy armed cavalry, upon which they placed their chief dependence, was covered by a hill which was plain and even at the top, and which with an acclivity of only four furlongs was not very difficult to ascend, he despatched his Thracian and Gaulish horse with orders to take them in flank, and to strike at nothing but the shafts of their pikes. Their whole strength, indeed, consists in the pike; and they have no other weapon, either offensive or defensive, which they can use, on account of the heavy and unpliable armour in which they are as it were immured.

Meanwhile, he began to climb the hill with two companies of infantry; and the soldiers followed him with great readiness, when they saw him, encumbered as he was with his armour, the first to labour on foot up the ascent. After he had reached the summit, he placed himself on the most conspicuous part of it, and cried out, "The victory is ours, "my fellow-soldiers, the victory is ours!" At the same time he advanced against the heavy-armed cavalry, and ordered his men not to make any use of their javelins, but to come to close action, and to aim their blows at their enemies' legs and thighs, in which parts alone they were unarmed. There was no need, however, to carry this into execution. For, instead of standing to receive the Romans, they set up a cry of fear, and most despicably fled without having struck a stroke. In their flight they and their horses, heavy with armour, ran back upon their

own infantry, and threw them into confusion; so that all those myriads were routed, without standing to receive one wound, or spilling a single drop of blood. Multitudes however were slain in their flight, or rather in their attempt to fly; their ranks being so thick and deep, that they entangled and impeded each other.

Tigranes rode off one of the first, with a few attendants; and seeing his son involved in his misfortune, he took the diadem from his head, gave it to him with tears, and desired him to save himself in the best manner he could, by taking some other road. The young prince did not venture to wear it, but put it into the hands of one of his most faithful servants, who happened to be subsequently taken and brought to Lucullus. Thus the royal diadem of Tigranes added to the honours of the spoil. It is said, that of the foot there fell above a hundred thousand, and of the horse very few escaped; whereas the Romans had but five killed, and a hundred wounded. Antiochus the philosopher[38], in his Treatise upon the Gods, speaking of this action says, "The sun never beheld such another." Strabo[39] likewise, another philosopher, in his Historical Commentaries informs us, that even the conquerors were ashamed, and ridiculed each other for having employed weapons against such vile slaves. And Livy asserts, that the Romans with such inferior numbers never engaged such a multitude as this. The victors did not, indeed, make up the twentieth part of the vanquished. The most able and experienced commanders among the Romans paid the highest compliments to the generalship of Lucullus; principally, because by methods entirely different he had defeated two of the greatest and most powerful kings in the world; the first by an expeditious, and the other

[38] Antiochus of Ascalon: Cicero was his disciple. See his Acad. ii. 2.

[39] Strabo, the geographer and historian, was also a philosopher of the Stoic form.

by a slow process. He ruined Mithridates, when in the height of his power, by protraction and delay, and Tigranes by celerity. Among all the generals indeed in the world, there have been few instances of any one's availing himself of delay for execution, or of expedition for security.

Hence it was, that Mithridates made no haste to come to action, or to join Tigranes; imagining, that Lucullus would proceed with his usual slowness and circumspection. But when he met a few Armenians on the road, with the utmost marks of consternation upon them, he formed some conjecture of what had happened; and many more frequently coming up naked and wounded, he was too well assured of the loss, and inquired for Tigranes. But though he found him in the most destitute and deplorable condition, he did not offer him the least insult. Instead of that, he dismounted and bewailed with him their common misfortunes, gave him his own royal equipage, and held up to him a prospect of better success. They immediately began to levy fresh forces.

In Tigranocerta the Greeks had mutinied against the barbarians, and wished to deliver the city to Lucullus. Accordingly, he assaulted and took it. After he had secured the royal treasures, he resigned the plunder of the town to his soldiers; and they found there, beside other rich booty, eight thousand talents in coined money. In addition to this, he distributed to each man from the spoils eight hundred drachmas. And learning, that there were found in the town a number of the artists requisite in theatrical amusements, whom Tigranes had collected from all parts for opening the theatre he had built, he made use of them in the games and other public diversions exhibited in honour of his victory.

The Greeks he sent back to their own countries, and furnished them with necessaries for that purpose. He likewise permitted the barbarians, who had been compelled to settle there, to return to their respective abodes. Thus it happened that, by the disper-

sion of the people of one city, many cities recovered their former inhabitants: for which reason, Lucullus was reverenced by them as a patron and founder. He succeeded, also, in his other undertakings agreeably to his merit; being more desirous of the praise of justice and humanity, than of that which arises from military achievements. For in those the army claims a great part, and fortune a still greater; whereas the other are proofs of a gentle disposition and well-disciplined mind, and by them Lucullus brought the barbarians to submit without the sword. The kings of the Arabs came over to him, and put their possessions in his power: the whole nation of Sophene followed their example; and the Gordyenians were even desirous to quit their habitations, and follow him with their wives and children. The cause was as follows:—

Zarbienus, king of Gordyene, unable (as it has been stated) to support the tyranny of Tigranes, applied privately through Appius to Lucullus, and desired to be admitted as an ally. This application being discovered, he was put to death with his wife and children, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus, however, did not forget it; but as he passed through Gordyene, he took care that Zarbienus should have a magnificent funeral, and adorned the pile with gold stuffs and royal vestments found among the spoils of Tigranes. The Roman general himself set fire to it, and together with the friends and relations of the deceased offered the accustomed libations, declaring him his own friend and an ally of the Roman people. He caused a monument, likewise, to be erected at a considerable expense to his memory: for there was found in the royal treasury a great quantity of gold and silver, beside three millions of measures of wheat laid up in his storehouses. This was a sufficient provision for the soldiers; and Lucullus was much admired for making the war maintain itself[40], and carrying it on with-

[40] This art, if entitled to admiration, has been much more ad-

out taking a single drachma out of the public treasury.

About this time, there came an embassy from the king of Parthia, to solicit his friendship and alliance. Lucullus received the proposal with pleasure, and sent embassadors in his turn; who while they were at that prince's court, discovered that he was yet unresolved what part to act, and that he was privately treating with Tigranes for Mesopotamia, as a reward for the succours with which he should supply him. As soon as Lucullus learned this, he determined to let Tigranes and Mithridates alone, as adversaries already exhausted, and to try his strength with the Parthian by entering his territories. He thought it would be glorious, if by one vigorous effort like an able wrestler he should throw three princes successively, and victoriously traverse the dominions of three of the most powerful kings under the sun without a single fall.

For this reason he sent orders to Sornatius and his other officers in Pontus to bring their forces to him, as he intended to begin his march for Parthia from Gordyene. These officers had already perceived their soldiers to be refractory and obstinate, but now they found them absolutely mutinous, and incapable of being wrought upon by any method of persuasion or of force. On the contrary, they loudly declared they would not even stay there, but would go and leave Pontus itself unguarded. When an account of this behaviour was brought to Lucullus, it corrupted the troops he had with him: and they were most ready to receive the impression, loaded as they were with wealth, enervated with luxury, and panting after repose. Upon hearing therefore of the bold terms, in which the others had expressed themselves, they said they had acted like men, and set an example worthy of imitation: "And surely," continued they, "our services entitle us to a dis-

mirably managed of late years by the modern over-runner of Europe. (1806.)

" charge, that we may return to our own country, " and enjoy ourselves in security and quiet."

These speeches, and worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up all thoughts of his Parthian expedition, and marched once more against Tigranes. It was now the height of summer; and yet, when he had gained the summit of Taurus, he saw with regret the corn only green: so backward are the seasons in those parts, on account of the extreme cold[41]. He descended however into the plain, and beat the Armenians, who ventured to face him, in two or three skirmishes. He then plundered the villages at pleasure, and by taking the convoys designed for Tigranes, brought that want upon the enemy, which he had dreaded for himself.

He omitted no measure, which might urge them to a decisive battle: he drew a line of circumvallation about their camp; he laid waste their country before their eyes; but they had been too often defeated, to think of risking an engagement. He therefore marched against Artaxata the capital of Tigranes, where he had left his wives and children; concluding that he would not suffer it to be taken, without attempting it's relief.

It is said that Annibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been subdued by the Romans, addressed himself to Artaxas king of Armenia. While he was at that prince's court, beside instructing and improving him in other important matters, he pointed out to him a place which, though it then lay unoccupied and neglected, afforded the happiest situation imaginable for a city. Of this he gave him the plan, and strongly advised him to carry it into execution. The king, charmed with the suggestion, desired him to take the direction of the work; and in a short time there was seen a large and beautiful city, which

41 This particular is confirmed by modern travellers: They tell us, the snow lies in that country till August; an effect perhaps arising from the lofty ridges of Taurus and Caucasus, by which it is bounded.

bore that prince's name, and was declared the metropolis of Armenia.

When Lucullus advanced to lay siege to this place, the patience of Tigranes failed him. He marched in quest of the Romans, and the fourth day encamped over-against them, being separated from them only by the river Arsanias, which they must necessarily cross in their march to Artaxata. Lucullus having sacrificed to the gods, in full persuasion that the victory was his own, passed over in order of battle with twelve cohorts in front. The rest were placed in the rear, to prevent their being surrounded by the enemy. For their motions were watched by a large and select body of cavalry, covered by some flying squadrons of Mardian archers and Iberian spearmen, in whose courage and skill, more than that of all his other foreign troops, Tigranes placed the highest confidence. Their behaviour, however, did not distinguish them. They exchanged a few blows with the Roman horse, and then, without waiting the charge of the infantry, dispersed themselves in flight, and drew off the Roman cavalry to the pursuit.

Tigranes now, seeing his advantage, advanced with his cavalry. Lucullus was a little intimidated by their numbers, and the splendour of their appearance. He therefore recalled his own horse; and in the mean time was the foremost to advance against the nobility[42], who with the flower of the army were about the king's person. But they fled at the sight of him, without having struck a blow. Of the three kings engaged in the action, the flight of Mithridates seems to have been the most disgraceful, for he did not stand the very shouts of the Romans. The pur-

[42] In the original, it is Σατραπηνοις, by which (though some would read Ατροπατηνοις, and some Αδιαβηνοις) in all probability is meant the king's body-guard, consisting chiefly of the nobility. According to Livy, no fewer than sixty of Tigranes' friends and great officers walked in the procession of Lucullus' triumph. Nor is it wonderful, that he had a guard of his own nobility, when he had princes for his menial servants.

suit continued the whole night, until wearied with carnage, and satisfied with their prisoners and booty, the Romans desisted. Livy informs us, that in the former battle there were greater numbers killed and taken prisoners, but in this persons of higher quality.

Lucullus, elevated with his success, resolved to penetrate the Upper Country, and to finish the destruction of this barbarian prince. It was now the autumnal equinox, and he met with storms which he had not expected. The snow fell almost constantly; and when the sky was clear, the frost was so intense, that from the extreme cold the horses could scarcely drink of the rivers; nor could they pass them but with the utmost difficulty, because the ice broke and cut the sinews of their legs. Besides, the greatest part of their march was through close and woody roads, where the troops were daily wet and covered with snow; and they had only damp places, in which to pass their miserable nights.

They had not therefore followed Lucullus many days, before they began to be refractory. At first they had recourse to entreaties, and sent their tribunes to intercede for them: but afterward they met in a more tumultuous manner, and their murmurs were heard all over the camp by night; the surest token, perhaps, of a mutiny [43]. Lucullus tried, what every milder measure could do: he exhorted them only to compose themselves a little longer, until they had destroyed the Armenian Carthage built by Annibal, the bitterest enemy to the Roman name. But, finding his eloquence ineffectual, he marched back and passed the ridge of mount Taurus another way. Thence he descended into Mygdonia, an open and fertile country, where stands a great and populous city, by the barbarians called Nisibis, and by the Greeks Antioch of Mygdonia [44]. Gouras,

[43] Witness the *nocturna conloquia* and the *nox minax* of the Pannonian, and the *nox concubia* of the German mutiny, so admirably described by Tacitus, Ann. i. 16, 28, 39.*

[44] It was called Antioch, because in it's delicious walls and plea-

brother to Tigranes, had the title of it's governor, on account of his dignity; but the real commander there was Callimachus, who by his eminent abilities as an engineer, had already given Lucullus so much trouble at Amisus.

Lucullus, having invested the place, availed himself of all the arts used in a siege, and pressed it with so much vigour, that he carried it sword in hand. Gouras surrendered himself, and was treated with the utmost humanity. But he refused to listen to Callimachus, though he offered to discover to him a vast quantity of hidden treasure; and put him in fetters, in order that he might suffer capital punishment for having set fire to the city of Amisus, and thus deprived him of the honour of showing his clemency to the Greeks.

Hitherto, one might say, fortune had followed Lucullus, and fought for him. But from this time the gale of her favour fell; he could do nothing without infinite difficulty, and struck upon every rock in his way. He behaved indeed with all the valour and persevering spirit of a good general, but his actions had no longer their wonted glory and favourable acceptance with the world. Nay, tossed as he was upon the waves of fruitless contention, he was in danger of losing the glory which he had already acquired. For great part of his misfortunes, however, he might blame himself; because, in the first place, he would never study to oblige the common soldiers, but looked upon every compliance with their inclinations as the source of his disgrace, and the destruction of his authority. What was of still more consequence, he could not behave in an easy affable manner to those, who were upon a footing with him in point of rank and birth, but treated them with haughtiness, and considered himself as greatly their superior. These blemishes Lucullus,

sant situation, it resembled the Antioch of Daphne, mentioned p. 353, not. (31.)

we are told, combined with every other perfection. He was tall, well-made, graceful, eloquent, and had abilities for the Forum as well as for the field.

The soldiers, Sallust informs us, were ill-affected to him from the beginning of the war, because he had made them keep the field two winters successively, the one before Cyzicum and the other before Amisus. The rest of the winters, likewise, were disagreeable to them: they either passed them in hostilities against some enemy, or if they happened to be among friends, they were obliged to live in tents. For Lucullus never once suffered his troops to enter any Grecian city, or any other in alliance with Rome.

While the soldiers were of themselves thus ill-disposed, they were rendered still more mutinous by the demagogues at home; who, through envy to Lucullus, accused him of protracting the war from a love of power and of pillage. "He had almost "the entire direction (they said) of Cilicia, Asia, "Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, "and all the provinces as far as the Phasis[45]; and "now he was plundering the royal palaces of Ti-"granes, as if he had been sent to strip, not to "subdue kings." So Lucius Quintius, one of the tribunes, is said to have expressed himself; the same who was principally concerned in procuring a decree, that Lucullus should be superseded in his command, and that most of his troops should have their discharge.

To these misfortunes was added another, which absolutely ruined Lucullus' affairs. Publius Clodius, a man of the utmost insolence and effrontery, was brother to his wife; a woman so abandoned, that it was even believed she had an incestuous commerce with him. He bore arms at the time under Lucullus, and imagined that he was not promoted as he

[45] This is a rapid river in Colchis, which after passing (as Strabo, xi., informs us) under a hundred and twenty bridges, pours itself into the Euxine Sea.*

deserved; for he was ambitious of the highest station, and on account of his disorderly life many were put above him. Finding this, he intrigued with the Fimbrian troops; and endeavoured to set them against Lucullus by flattering speeches and insinuations, to which they were neither unaccustomed, nor unwilling to attend. For these were the men, whom Fimbria had formerly persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and to appoint himself their general in his stead. Still retaining their old principles, they received Clodius with pleasure, and called him 'the Soldiers' Friend.' He did indeed pretend to be concerned at their sufferings, and used to say, "Shall there no period be put to our wars and toils? "Shall we go on fighting one nation after another, "and wear out our whole lives in wandering over "the world? And what is the reward of so many "laborious expeditions? What, but to guard Lucullus' waggons and camels, loaded with cups of "gold and precious stones? Whereas Pompey's "soldiers, already discharged, sit down with their "wives and children upon fertile estates and in pleasant towns; not for having driven Mithridates and "Tigranes into inaccessible deserts, and destroyed "the royal cities in Asia, but for having fought with "fugitives in Spain and slaves in Italy. If we must "for ever have our swords in our hands, let us reserve all our hearts, and what remains of our "limbs, for a general who thinks the wealth of his "men his greatest ornament."

These complaints against Lucullus corrupted his soldiers to such a degree, that they would not follow him either against Tigranes or Mithridates, who from Armenia had thrown himself into Pontus, and was beginning to recover his authority there. They pretended that it was impracticable to march in the winter, and therefore loitered in Gordyene, expecting Pompey or some other general would be sent as successor to Lucullus. But when intelligence was brought that Mithridates had defeated Fabius, and

was marching against Somatius and Triarius, they were ashamed of their inaction, and told Lucullus he might lead them wherever he pleased.

Triarius being informed of the approach of Lucullus was ambitious, before he arrived, to seize the victory which he thought perfectly secure; in consequence of which, he hazarded and lost a great battle. It is said that above seven thousand Romans were killed, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions and twenty-four tribunes. Mithridates likewise took their camp. Lucullus, fortunately for Triarius, arrived a few days afterward, and concealed him from the soldiers, who were anxious to wreak their vengeance upon him.

As Mithridates now avoided an action, and chose to wait for Tigranes who was coming up with a large army, Lucullus in order to prevent their junction, determined to go once more in quest of Tigranes. But while he was upon his march, the Fimbrians mutinied and deserted his standard, alleging that they were discharged by an express decree, and no longer obliged to serve under Lucullus, when those provinces were consigned to another. Lucullus, upon this occasion, submitted to many things beneath his dignity. He applied to the private men one by one, going round to their tents with a supplicating aspect, and with tears in his eyes; nay, he condescended to take some of them by the hand. But they rejected all his advances; and, throwing down their empty purses before him, bade him go alone and fight the enemy, since he alone knew how to make his advantage of it.

As the other soldiers however interposed, the Fimbrians were prevailed upon to stay the whole summer; on condition that, if no enemy during that time faced them in the field, they should be at liberty to retire. Lucullus was obliged either to accept this proposal, or to abandon the country, and leave it an easy prey to the barbarians. He kept the troops together, therefore, without pretending to exercise

any act of authority over them, or to lead them out to battle; thinking it all he could expect that they should remain upon the spot, and obliged inactively to look on, while Tigranes was ravaging Cappadocia, and Mithridates was again growing strong and insolent; though he had acquainted the senate by letter, that that prince was completely subdued, and deputies were come to settle the affairs of Pontus, as a province entirely reduced. These deputies, upon their arrival, found that he was not even master of himself, but exposed to every instance of insult and contempt from his own soldiers. Nay, with such wanton mockery was he treated by them, that at the expiration of the summer they armed and challenged the enemy, who were now retired into quarters. They shouted as in the charge, made passes in the air, and then left the camp, calling Lucullus to witness that they had stayed as long as they had promised to do.

Pompey wrote to the other legions to attend him. For through his interest with the people and the flattering insinuations of the orators, he was already appointed general against Mithridates and Tigranes. To the senate indeed, and all the best of the Romans, Lucullus appeared to have very hard treatment; since he was superseded, not so much in the war as in the triumph, and was deprived rather of the prize of honour than of the command. Those, who were upon the spot, found the matter still more invidious. Lucullus had no longer the power either of rewarding, or of punishing. Pompey suffered no man to wait upon him about any business whatever, or to pay any regard to the regulations which he had made in concurrence with the ten commissioners. He forbade it by express public orders; and his influence was preponderant, on account of his coming with a more respectable army.

Yet their friends thought it proper, that they should have an interview; and, accordingly, they met in a village of Galatia. They addressed each

other with much politeness, and with mutual compliments on their signal successes. Lucullus was the older man, but Pompey had the higher dignity; for he had commanded in a greater number of wars, and had been honoured with two triumphs. Each had the fasces carried before him adorned with laurel, on account of their respective victories: but, as Pompey had travelled a long way through dry and parched countries, the laurels about his fasces were withered*. The lictors who preceded Lucullus, observing this, freely gave them a sufficient quantity of their fresh and green ones; which Pompey's friends considered as an auspicious circumstance And, in fact, the achievements of Lucullus cast a lustre over this expedition of Pompey.

This interview, however, had no good effect: they parted with deeper rancour in their hearts, than they had entertained at their meeting. Pompey annulled the acts of Lucullus, and taking the rest of the troops from him, left him only sixteen hundred men for his triumph; and even these followed him with reluctance. So ill qualified or so unfortunate was Lucullus, with respect to the first and most important requisite in a general, the gaining of the hearts of his soldiers. Had this been superadded to his many other lofty and admirable talents, his courage, his vigilance, his prudence, and his justice, the Roman empire would not have been terminated on the side of Asia by the Euphrates, but by the Hyrcanian[46] sea and the extremities of the earth. For Tigranes had already conquered the other nations; and the power of the Parthians was neither so strong nor so compact, during this expedition of Lucullus, as it had subsequently become in the time of Crassus. On the contrary, they were so weakened by intestine wars, and by hostilities with their neighbours, that they were not able to repel the insults of

* This incident is repeated in the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV.*

46 Or Caspian.*

the Armenians. In my opinion indeed the advantages, which Lucullus obtained for his country, were not equivalent to the calamities, which he occasioned others to bring upon it. The trophies of Armenia just in the neighbourhood of Parthia, the palms of Tigranocerta and Nisibis with all their immense wealth carried in triumph to Rome, and the captive diadem of Tigranes adorning the show, drew Crassus into Asia; as if it's barbarous inhabitants had been a sure and easy prey. When he met the Parthian arrows, however, he soon found that Lucullus' success was owing to his own courage and capacity, and not to the folly and effeminacy of the enemy. But of this we shall hereafter speak more at large[47].

Upon his return to Rome, Lucullus found his brother Marcus impeached by Memmius, at Sylla's command, for his practices during his quæstorship. And, when Marcus was acquitted, Memmius turned against Lucullus himself; alleging, that he had converted a considerable part of the booty to his own private use, and had wilfully protracted the war. By these means he endeavoured to exasperate the people against him, and to prevail upon them to refuse him his triumph. He was in imminent danger, indeed, of losing it; but at this crisis the first and greatest men in Rome mixed with the tribes, and after much canvassing and the most engaging application, with the utmost difficulty procured him that honour.

It's glory did not consist like that of many others in the length of a tumultuous procession, or in the astonishing pomp and quantity of spoils; but in exhibiting the enemy's arms, the engines, and other warlike equipage of the kings. With these he had adorned the Circus[48] Flaminius, and they made a most respectable appearance. In the procession

[47] In the Life of Crassus.

[48] Of these edifices, designed for public games, spectacles, &c., there were no fewer than eight at Rome, the greatest of which was built by Tarquinius Priscus.

there were a few of the heavy-armed cavalry, and ten chariots armed with sithes. These were followed by sixty grandees, either friends or lieutenants of the kings. After them, were drawn a hundred and ten galleys with brasen beaks. The next objects were a statue of Mithridates in massy gold, full six feet high, and his shield set with precious stones. Then came twenty exhibitions of silver vessels, and thirty-two more of gold cups, arms, and gold coin. All these were borne by men. After them followed eight mules, which carried beds of gold, and fifty-six more loaded with silver bullion. Then came a hundred and seven other mules, bearing silver coin to the amount of near two million seven hundred thousand drachmas. The procession was closed with the registers of the money, with which he had furnished Pompey for the war with the pirates, which he had remitted to the quæstors for the public treasury, and which he had distributed among the soldiers at the rate of nine hundred and fifty drachmas each man. The triumph concluded with a magnificent entertainment, provided for the whole city and the adjacent villages.

He now divorced Clodia for her infamous intrigues, and married Servilia the sister of Cato; but this second match was not more fortunate than the first. Servilia had every stain in common with Clodia, except that of a commerce with her brothers. In other respects, she was equally profligate and abominable. He forced himself however to endure her for a long time, out of reverence to Cato; but at last he divorced her too.

The senate had conceived great hopes of Lucullus, that he would prove a counterpoise to the tyranny of Pompey, and a protector of the whole patrician order; the rather, because he had acquired so much honour and authority by his illustrious actions. He gave up the cause, however, and quitted all pretensions to the administration: Whether it were, that he saw the constitution in too sickly and declining a

condition to be corrected, or satiated with public honours (as others will have it) he chose to retire from his many labours and conflicts, which had not had the most fortunate issue, to a life of ease and indulgence. And they commend this change in his conduct, as much better than the distempered measures of Marius; who, after his victories over the Cimbri and all his glorious achievements, unglutted with the admiration of his countrymen, from an insatiable thirst of power contended in the decline of life with the ambition of young men, and fell into dreadful crimes and sufferings still more dreadful. "How much happier," said they, "would it have "been for Cicero, if after the affair of Catiline he "had spent his old age in retirement; and for "Scipio, if he had concluded his public life after "adding Numantia to Carthage! For there is a "period, when we ought to bid adieu to political "contests: these, as well as those of wrestlers, "being absurd after the strength and vigour of man-"hood are gone [49]."

On the other hand, Crassus and Pompey ridiculed Lucullus for having fallen into a course of pleasure and expense; thinking it full as unseasonable at his age to plunge into luxury, as to direct the administration or to lead armies into the field. The life of Lucullus indeed does somewhat resemble the ancient comedy [50], where we first see great actions both political and military, and afterward feasts, debauches (I had almost said, masquerades), races by torch-light, and every species of frivolous amusement. For among frivolous amusements I cannot but reckon his sumptuous villas, his walks, and his baths,

[49] This however was not Plutarch's real opinion; as he has left a Treatise written expressly to show, that 'a good man ought to spend his life in the service of his country.' And Homer makes Agamemnon pray, not for Ajaxes or Diomedes, but for Nestors, in his greatest emergency.*

[50] The ancient satirical or comic pieces were partly tragical, and partly comical. The Cyclops of Euripides is the only one of the kind now extant.

and (still more) the paintings, statues, and other works of art which he had collected at an immense cost, idly squandering upon them the vast fortune which he had amassed in his wars[51]: so that even in these days, when luxury has made such enormous advances, the 'gardens of Lucullus' are numbered with the most magnificent of those of kings. When Tubero, the Stoic, beheld his works on the sea-coast near Naples, the hills which he had excavated for vaults and cellars, the reservoirs which he had formed about his houses to receive the sea for the feeding of his fish, and his edifices in the sea itself, the philosopher called him Xerxes in a *toga*[52]. Beside these, he had the most superb pleasure-houses in the country near Tusculum, adorned with grand galleries and open saloons, as well for the prospect as for walks. Pompey, upon a visit there, blamed Lucullus for having made the villa commodious only for the summer, and absolutely uninhabitable in the winter. Lucullus answered with a smile, "What "then, do you think I have not so much sense as "the cranes and storks, which change their habita- "tions with the seasons?"

A prætor, who wished to exhibit magnificent games, applied to Lucullus for some purple robes for the chorus in his tragedy; and was told in reply, that "He would inquire, whether he could furnish "him or not." Next day he asked him, "How

[51] Plutarch's philosophy upon this occasion seems a little too severe, for it is not easy to determine how public fortunes of this kind can be more properly expended, than in the encouragement of the arts It is to be observed however that the immense wealth, which Lucullus reserved to himself from his Asiatic expedition, in some measure justifies the complaints of his army upon that subject.

[52] This refers to the hills, which Lucullus bored for the completion of his vaults, or for the admission of water. Xerxes had bored mount Athos, and made a passage through it for his ships. (L.) Tubero was eminent as a philosopher, a lawyer, and an historiographer. ...ro (Brut. 31.) gives him an excellent moral character, but ob... that there was a hardness in his stile, corresponding with the ...ity of his manners. This passage accounts for his sarcasm ...ucullus' prodigality.

"many he wanted?" The prætor answered, "A "hundred would suffice." Upon which Lucullus said, "He might have twice that number, if he "pleased [53]." The poet Horace [54] makes this remark upon the occasion;

> Poor is the house, where plenty has not store,
> Neglected or unseen, in number more
> Than those that meet the eye.

His daily repasts were like those of a man recently grown rich; pompous not only in couches covered with purple carpets, side-boards of plate set with precious stones, and all the entertainment which musicians and comedians could furnish, but in the vast variety and exquisite dressing of the provisions. These things excited the admiration of men of narrow minds. Pompey therefore was highly applauded for the answer, which he gave his physician in a fit of sickness. The physician had ordered him to eat a thrush [55]; and his servants told him, "That "as it was summer, there were no thrushes to be "found, except in the menageries of Lucullus." But he would not suffer them to apply for any there; and said to his physician, "Must Pompey then have "died, if Lucullus had not been an epicure?" At

[53] This will remind the reader of the "More phaetons," ascribed to an oriental *eunuchi* of modern days.*

[54] Ep. I. vi 45.

> *Exilis domus est, ubi non et multa supersunt,*
> *Et dominum fallunt, et prosunt furibus*—

a sentiment, as M. Ricard observes, exclusively adapted to the wealthy. Horace however informs us, with much more poignancy, that Lucullus in reply offered the petitioner five thousand!*

[55] The Greek κιχλη, as it appears from Aristotle and Athenæus, signifies also 'a sea-fish,' and it is not easy to determine which is here meant; for Lucullus was not less curious in his fishponds than in his aviaries, and by admitting salt-water into them, could be supplied with every species throughout every season. This story is repeated in the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV p 128.

the same time, he bade them provide him something, which was to be procured without difficulty.

Cato, though he was a friend as well as a relation to Lucullus, was so much displeased with the luxury in which he lived, that when a young man made a long and unseasonable speech in the senate about frugality and temperance, Cato rose up and said, "Will you never have done? Do you, who have the "wealth of Crassus and live like Lucullus, pretend "to speak like Cato?" But some, though they admit that there was such a rebuke, say it came from another person.

That Lucullus was not only delighted with this way of living, but even piqued himself upon it, appears from several of his remarkable sayings. He entertained for a considerable time some Greeks, who had travelled to Rome; till, remembering the simplicity of diet in their own country, they were ashamed to accept his invitations any longer, and desired to be excused on account of the daily expense in which they involved him. He smiled, and said; "It is true, my Grecian friends, a small portion of "this provision is for you, but the greatest part is for "Lucullus." At another time, when he happened to sup alone, and saw but one table and a very moderate provision, he called the servant who had the care of these matters, and expressed his dissatisfaction. The servant replied, "He thought, as no "body was invited, his master would not wish for "a costly supper." "What!" said he, "didst "thou not know, that this evening Lucullus sups "with Lucullus?" As this was naturally the subject of much conversation in Rome, Cicero and Pompey addressed him one day in the Forum, when he appeared to be perfectly disengaged. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends; and though he had had some difference with Pompey about the command of the army, yet they used frequently to meet together, and to converse freely together. Cicero,

After the common salutations, asked him, "Whether "or not he was at leisure to see company?" He answered, "Nothing could be more agreeable," and pressed them to come to his house. "We will wait "upon you," said Cicero, "this evening, on condition that you give us nothing but what is provided for yourself." This condition Lucullus made some difficulty of accepting, and desired them to put off their favour till another day. But they insisted, it should be that very evening; and would not suffer him to speak to his servants, lest he should order some addition to the supper. They only allowed him, at his earnest request, to tell one of them in their presence, "He should sup that "evening in the Apollo;" which was the name of one of his most magnificent rooms. The persons invited had no notion of his stratagem; but, it seems, each of his dining-rooms had it's particular allowance for provisions and it's service of plate, as well as other furniture. So that the servants, hearing what room he would sup in, knew exactly what expense they were to incur, and what side-board and carpets they were to use. The stated charge of an entertainment in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and the whole sum was laid out that evening. Pompey of course, when he saw so enormous and sumptuous a provision, was surprised at the expedition, with which it had been prepared. In this respect, Lucullus used his riches with all the disregard naturally shown to so many captives and barbarians.

But the great expense, which he incurred in collecting books, deserves our serious approbation. The number of volumes was immense, and they were written in elegant hands; yet the use, which he made of them, was still more honourable than the acquisition. His libraries were open to all: the Greeks repaired at pleasure to his galleries and porticos, as to the retreat of the Muses, and there spent whole days in conversation upon subjects of literature, delighted to retire to such a scene from other

pursuits. Lucullus himself often joined these learned men in their walks, and conferred with them, and when he was applied to about the affairs of their country, gave them his best advice. So that his house was in fact a sanctuary and an asylum to all the Greeks, who visited Rome.

He had a veneration for philosophy in general; and there was no sect, which he absolutely rejected. But his principal and original attachment was to the Academy; not that called the New (though it flourished and was supported by Philo, who walked in the steps of Carneades) but the Old Academy, whose doctrines were then taught by Antiochus of Ascalon, a man of the most persuasive powers. Lucullus sought his friendship with great avidity; and, having prevailed upon him to give him his company, set him to oppose the disciples of Philo. Of these Cicero was one; and in an ingenious book of his against the Old Academy, he makes Lucullus defend the principal doctrine in dispute, *viz.* that there is such a thing as certain knowledge, while he himself maintains the contrary. The book is entitled 'Lucullus[56].' Yet were they (as we have observed) sincere friends, and acted upon the same principle in the administration. For Lucullus had not entirely abandoned the concerns of government: he only gave up the point, as to the primary influence and direction. The contest for that, he saw, might be attended not only with danger but disgrace, and therefore he readily resigned it to Crassus and Cato. When he had refused to take the lead, those who regarded Pompey's power with a suspicious eye, selected Crassus and Cato to support the patrician interests. Lucullus, notwithstanding, gave his attendance in the Forum, when the business of his friends required it; and in the senate-house likewise, when there was any ambitious design of Pom-

56 [illegible] second Book of his original Academic Questions. In this [illegible] xliii.) he reproaches Antiochus, mentioned p. 368, not [illegible] some unsteadiness in his principles *

pey to be opposed. Thus he procured the annulment of that general's orders, which he had made after the conquest of the two kings; and, with the assistance of Cato, quashed his bill for a distribution of lands among his veterans [57].

This threw Pompey into the arms of Crassus and Cæsar, or rather he conspired with them against the commonwealth; and having filled the city with soldiers, drove Cato and Lucullus out of the Forum, and got his acts established by force.

As these proceedings were highly resented by all, who had the interest of their country at heart, Pompey's party instructed one Vettius [58] to act a part; and circulated a report, that they had detected him in a design against their leader's life. This, Vettius upon his examination in the senate stated, he had undertaken at the instigation of others; but in the assembly of the people he affirmed, that Lucullus was the man who had compelled him to it. No one gave credit to the assertion; and a few days afterward, it was perfectly evident that the wretch had been suborned to accuse an innocent person, when his dead body was thrown out of the prison. His employers asserted, he had laid violent hands upon himself; but the marks of the cord which had strangled him [59], and of the blows which he had received, plainly proved that he had been murthered by the persons who had suborned him.

This event made Lucullus still more unwilling to interfere in the concerns of government; and when

57 Plutarch says simply νεμησιν τινα, 'a certain distribution.' Amyot and Dacier say, it was of money: But we agree, with the Latin and former English translator, that it was of lands. That this indeed was the case, appears from the ancient historians, who inform us, that in the same bill Pompey moved to have inserted a confirmation of all his acts in the East.

58 In the text it is Βρεττιον τινα, 'one Brettius,' or 'a certain Bruttian.' But it is clear from Cicero (Pro Sext. 63., in Vatin. 10., et Ep. ad Att. ii. 24.), Appian, and Dion., that it should be read 'Vettius.'

59 Still more parallels with modern times!*

Cicero was banished, and Cato sent to Cyprus, he entirely gave them up. His understanding, it is said, gradually failed, and before his death was absolutely wasted away. Cornelius Nepos indeed states, that this decay of his intellects was owing not to sickness or old age, but to a potion given him by one of his bondmen, named Callisthenes, as a love-philtre [60], for such were it's reputed virtues. Instead of conciliating his master's regards to him, however, it deprived him of his senses; so that, during the last years of his life, his brother had the care of his estate.

Nevertheless, when he died, he was as much regretted by the people, as if he had departed in that height of glory, which he had attained by his eminent military and civil merits. They crowded to the procession; and, the body being carried into the Forum by some young men of the first quality, they insisted it should be buried in the Campus Martius, as that of Sylla had been. As this was a motion entirely unexpected, and the preparations for the funeral there could not easily be made, his brother with much entreaty prevailed upon them to have the obsequies performed on the Tusculan estate, where every thing had been provided for the purpose. Neither did he long survive him. As he had followed him close in the course of years and honours, so he was not far behind him in his journey to the grave, into which he descended with the character of the most affectionate of brothers.

CIMON AND LUCULLUS

COMPARED.

WE cannot but deem the end of Lucullus happy, as he did not live to see that change in the consti-

[60] Pliny mentions the same story, H. N. xxv. 3.*

tution, which fate was preparing for his country in the civil wars [1]. Though the commonwealth was in a sickly state, yet he left it free. In this respect, the case of Cimon was particularly similar. For he died while Greece was at the height of her prosperity, and before she was involved in her ruinous troubles. One difference, indeed, must be admitted: Cimon expired in his camp, in the office of general; not like a man who, fatigued with war and avoiding it's conflicts, sought the reward of his military labours and laurels in the delicacies of the table and the joys of wine. In this view Plato was right in his censure of the followers of Orpheus [2], who placed the rewards of futurity provided for the good in everlasting intoxication. No doubt ease, tranquillity, literary researches, and the pleasures of contemplation furnish the most suitable retreat for a man in years, who has bidden adieu to military and political pursuits. But to propose pleasure as the end of great achievements, and after long expeditions and commands to lead up the dance of Venus and riot in her smiles, was so far from being worthy of the famed Academy and a follower of the sage Xenocrates, that it rather became a disciple of Epicurus. This is the more surprising, because Cimon seems to have spent his youth in luxury and dissipation, and Lucullus in letters and sobriety. It is certainly, however, the characteristic of a better disposition to change for the better; and happier is the nature, in which vices gradually die, and virtue flourishes.

They were equally wealthy, but they did not apply their riches to the same purposes. For we cannot

[1] The Editor cannot help referring to the splendid remarks of Cicero, upon a similar occasion, where he speaks of the death of the orator Crassus: (De Orat. iii. 2.) *O fallacem hominum spem, fragilemque fortunam, et inanes nostras contentiones, &c.**

[2] The passage, here alluded to, occurs in the second book of Plato's Republic. Plato does not indeed censure Orpheus, but Musæus and his son Eumolpus, for having taught this doctrine. These were, however, Orpheus' disciples; and τους περι τον Ορφεα may admit of that interpretation.

compare the palace at Naples and the prospect-house amidst the water, erected by Lucullus from the barbarian spoils, to the southern wall of the citadel which Cimon built with his military earnings. Neither can the sumptuous board of the former, which savoured too much of eastern magnificence, be put in competition with the open and benevolent table of the latter. The one, at a moderate charge, daily nourished vast numbers of poor; the other, at an enormous expense, pampered the appetites of a few of the rich and the voluptuous. Perhaps, indeed, some allowance must be made for the difference of the times. We know not whether Cimon too, if he had lived to be old and retired from the concerns of war and of the state, might not have adopted a more pompous and luxurious method of living: for he naturally loved wine and company, was a promoter of public feasts and games, and remarkable (as we have observed) for his profligate attachment to the sex. But glorious enterprises and noble actions, being attended with pleasures of another kind, leave no leisure for inferior gratifications; nay, they banish them from the pursuits, and even the thoughts, of persons of military and civil abilities. And if Lucullus had finished his days in high commands and amidst the conflicts of war, the most envious caviller, I am persuaded, could have found nothing to reproach him with. So much with respect to their mode of life.

As to their military character, it is certain they were able commanders both at sea and land. But as the champions, who in one day gain the garland not only in wrestling but in the Pancration[3], are called, not simply 'victors,' but by the custom of the games 'the flowers of the victory;' so Cimon, having crowned Greece with two victories gained in

[3] The Pancration consisted of boxing and wrestling together. The Pentathlon, or five games (which Dacier seems to have strangely confounded with the former) were boxing, the race, leaping, playing at quoits, and wrestling.*

one day, the one at land and the other at sea, deserves some preference in the list of generals.

The country of Lucullus promoted his power, and Cimon promoted the power of his country. The one found Rome commanding the allies, and under her auspices extended her conquests; the other found Athens obeying instead of commanding, and yet gained her the chief authority among her allies, as well as vanquished her enemies. The Persians he defeated, and drove them out of the sea; and he persuaded the Lacedæmonians voluntarily to surrender the supremacy of Greece.

If it be the best work of a general, to make his men obey him from a principle of affection, we shall find Lucullus in this respect greatly deficient. He was despised by his own troops; whereas Cimon commanded the veneration, not only of his own soldiers, but of all the allies. The former was deserted by his fellow-countrymen, and the latter was courted by strangers. The one set out with a fine army, and returned abandoned by them all; the other, with an army subject to the orders which they should receive from a foreign general, and at his return they were at the head of the whole league. Thus he gained three of the most difficult points imaginable, peace with the enemy, the command among the allies, and a good understanding with Sparta.

They both attempted to conquer immense kingdoms, and to subdue all Asia; but their purposes were unsuccessful. Cimon's course was stopped by fortune; he died in the possession of his commission, and in the height of his prosperity. Lucullus, on the other hand, cannot possibly be excused for the loss of his authority; since he must either have been ignorant of the grievances and complaints of his army, which ended in so incurable an aversion, or unwilling to grant them redress.

This he has in common with Cimon, that he was impeached by his countrymen. The Athenians, it

is true, went farther; they banished Cimon by the Ostracism, that they might not (as Plato expresses it) 'hear his voice for ten years.' The proceedings, indeed, of the aristocratical party are seldom acceptable to the people; for while they are obliged to use some violence for the correction of what is amiss, their measures resemble the bandages of surgeons, which are uneasy at the same time that they reduce the dislocation. But in this respect, perhaps, we may exculpate both the one and the other.

Lucullus carried his arms much the farthest. He was the first, who led a Roman army over Mount Taurus, and passed the Tigris. He took and burned the royal cities of Asia, Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinope, and Nisibis, in the sight of their respective kings. On the north he penetrated as far as the Phasis, on the east to Media, and on the south with the assistance of the Arabian princes to the Red Sea. He overthrew the armies of the two great kings, and would certainly have taken them, had they not fled like savages into distant solitudes and inaccessible woods. A certain proof of the advantage which Lucullus has in this particular is, that the Persians, as if they had suffered nothing from Cimon, soon made fresh head against the Greeks and cut in pieces a large army of theirs in Egypt; whereas Tigranes and Mithridates could effect nothing after the blow, which they had received from Lucullus. The latter, enfeebled and shattered by his former conflicts, did not once venture to face Pompey in the field; but fled to the Bosporus, and there put a period to his life. And the former delivered himself naked and unarmed to Pompey, taking his diadem from his head, and laying it at his feet: in which he complimented Pompey, not with what was his own, but with what belonged to the laurels of Lucullus; confessing by the very joy, with which he received the ensigns of royalty again, that they had been absolutely lost. That warrior must undoubtedly be deemed the greater general, as well as the greater champion,

who delivers his adversary in a state of exhaustion to the next combatant.

Besides, Cimon found the king of Persia extremely weakened, and the pride of his people humbled, by the losses and defeats which they had previously sustained from Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychidas; and their hands could not make much resistance, when their hearts were gone. But Lucullus met Tigranes, unfoiled and exulting in his numerous battles[4]. Neither is the number of the enemy's troops, which Cimon defeated, in the least to be compared with that of those, who fled before Lucullus.

In short, when we weigh all the advantages of each of these illustrious men, it is difficult to say to which side the balance inclines. Heaven appears to have favoured both; directing the one what he should do, and warning the other what he should avoid. So that the gods bore witness to their virtue, and regarded them as persons, in whose nature there was something divine.

[4] M. Dacier thinks, that if, beside the advantages just mentioned, the advantage be also allowed to Lucullus in respect of the numbers defeated, the balance must clearly incline to his side. But, while he says this, he seems to have forgotten the preference given to Cimon, in the beginning of the Parallel, with regard to his having continued his labours for his country to the end of his life; his more excellent application of his riches; his having won, and kept, the hearts of his soldiers; and his having gained two important victories upon two different elements in one day.

THE

LIFE

OF

NICIAS.

SUMMARY.

Animadversions on the historian Timæus. Plutarch's plan in writing this Life. Nicias' character: Influence in the government: Magnificence and liberality. He conducts the Athenian choir to Delos, and makes rich presents to Apollo. His superstition and timidity. His scheme to defend himself from calumniators. He has no part in the Athenian disasters. His various victories as general. Reproached about Sphacteria by Cleon, who is sent on the expedition, and succeeds. Consequent sarcasms upon Nicias. Nicias re-establishes peace between Athens and Lacedæmon, with great credit to himself. Alcibiades' intrigues to break it. Nicias takes a fruitless journey to Lacedæmon, and the war recommences: is apprehensive of the Ostracism, and combines with Alcibiades to get Hyperbolus banished: is appointed general with Alcibiades and Lamachus for the Sicilian expedition, which he disapproved. Various discouraging omens. Meton and Socrates anticipate it's disastrous issue. Nicias' subsequent timid conduct. The Athenians range themselves in order of battle before the port of Syracuse. Nicias incurs contempt by his mode of managing the war: dupes the Syracusans, and defeats them, after having taken possession of their harbour. His dilatory proceedings. He winters at Naxos. He nearly encloses Syracuse with a wall. Lamachus is killed. Gylippus arrives in Sicily, enters Syracuse, and defeats the Athenians. Nicias gains some advantages, but his troops are again routed Demosthenes arrives with reinforcements, receives a check, and proposes to leave the island. Nicias refuses. Eclipse

of the moon; and reflexions upon it. It confirms Nicias in his resolution to remain. His fleet worsted. Another engagement and defeat. Hermocrates' stratagem to prevent him from retreating. Nicias' fortitude in the midst of his misfortunes. Demosthenes taken prisoner. Nicias, reduced to the last extremity, surrenders; and, with Demosthenes, is put to death. Many of the Athenian captives owe their preservation to the recital of verses from Euripides, a great favourite with the Sicilians. How the intelligence of this disaster was carried to Athens.

WE have selected Crassus, as proper to be placed in parallel with Nicias; and the misfortunes, which befel the one in Parthia, with those which overtook the other in Sicily. But we have an apology to make to the reader upon another account. As we are now undertaking a history, where Thucydides has even outdone himself in the pathetic, and in energy and variety of composition is perfectly inimitable; we trust no one will suspect us of the ambition of Timæus, who flattered himself that he could exceed the force of Thucydides, and make Philistus[1] pass for an inelegant and ordinary writer. Under the influence of this deception, he plunges into the midst of the battles (both at sea and land) and speeches, in which those historians most eminently excel. He soon however appears,

Not like a footman by the Lydian car[2],

[1] For an account of Philistus, see the Life of Timoleon, Vol. II. not. (29). Upon the subject of Timæus, a Sicilian contemporary with Agathocles, the ancients have been much divided. Cicero (De Orat. ii. 14.), a great authority, and Diodorus Siculus, speak of him very favourably, while Hesychius, Suidas, Longinus, and Plutarch appear to have considered him as an inferior author. Longinus however admits, that he is sometimes grand and sublime.*

[2] A proverb, founded probably on the success of Pelops the Lydian (or Phrygian) over Œnomaüs king of Pisa in the chariot-

as Pindar expresses it; but a shallow puerile writer, or (to use the words of the poet Diphilus)

———A heavy animal
Cased in Sicilian lard.

Sometimes he falls into the dreams of Xenarchus[3]: for instance, where he says, "He could not but consider it as a bad omen for the Athenians, that they had a general with a name derived from victory[4], who disapproved the expedition." As also, "That by the mutilation of the Hermæ the gods presignified, they should suffer most in the Syracusan war from Hermocrates the son of Hermon[5]." And again, "It is probable that Hercules assisted the Syracusans, because Proserpine had delivered up Cerberus to him; and that he was offended at the Athenians for having supported the Ægesteans, descended as they were from the Trojans his mortal enemies, whose city he had sacked in revenge for Laomedon's injuries." These fine observations he made with the same discernment, which induced him to find fault with the language of Philistus, and censure the writings of Plato and Aristotle.

For my part, I cannot but think all emulation about expression and jealousy of others betrays a littleness of mind, and is the characteristic of a sophist: and, when this spirit of contest attempts things inimitable, it is perfectly absurd. Since

race, by which he won Hippodamia, the daughter of that prince, and established himself in the peninsula, from him denominated Peloponnesus.*

[3] Xenarchus the Peripatetic was the master of Strabo, and Xenarchus the comic poet was the author of several pieces of humour. (Arist. Poet. 1.); but we know no historian of that name.

[4] That is, Nicias. Νικη signifies 'victory.'

[5] Longinus (iii.) quotes this passage as an example of the frigid stile, and of those puerilities which he had condemned in Timæus; (L). and adds, he might as well have said of Dionysius the tyrant, that 'He was chased out of his kingdom by Dion and Heraclides, because of the disrespect which he had shown to Dios and Heracles;' i. e. Jupiter and Hercules.*

therefore it is impossible to pass over in silence those actions of Nicias recorded by Thucydides and Philistus, especially such as indicate his manners and disposition which often lay concealed under the weight of his misfortunes, we shall give a brief abstract from them of what appears most necessary, lest we should be accused of indolence or neglect. As for other matters not generally known, which are found scattered in historians or in ancient inscriptions and decrees, we shall collect them with care; not to gratify useless curiosity, but by drawing from them the true lines of this general's character, to serve the purposes of real instruction.

The first thing, which I shall mention relating to him, is the observation of Aristotle: That three of the most worthy men in Athens, who had a paternal regard and friendship for the people, were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Milesias, and Theramenes the son of Agnon. The last indeed was not so remarkable in this respect, as the other two. For he had been reproached with his birth, as a stranger come from the isle of Ceos; and from his want of firmness, or rather versatility in matters of government, he was called 'The Buskin[6].'

Thucydides was the oldest of the three; and, when at any time Pericles was cajoling the people, he often opposed him in behalf of the superior classes. Though Nicias was much the younger man, he gained some reputation while Pericles lived; so that he was several times his collegue in

[6] The form of the buskin was such, that it might be worn indifferently upon either leg. (L.) (Xenoph. Hellen. ii.) Theramenes subsequently became one of the Thirty Tyrants, but from an abhorrence of their atrocities incurred, through the accusation of Critias (the most violent of the number) the sentence of death, and was instantly led to execution; falling the victim of a savage power, which he had been one of the foremost to establish:

——nec lex est justior ulla,
*Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.**

the war, and often commanded alone. But when Pericles died, he was quickly advanced to the head of the administration, particularly by the influence of the rich and great, who hoped that he would prove a barrier against the daring insolence of Cleon [7]. The good wishes of the people, likewise, contributed their share to his advancement.

It is true, Cleon had considerable interest, which he gained by making his court to the old men, and by his frequent donations to the poor citizens. Yet even many of those whom he studied to oblige, observing his avarice and arrogant effrontery, came over to Nicias. For the gravity of Nicias had nothing austere or morose in it, but was mixed with a reverence for the people, in which fear seemed a constituent part, and consequently was very agreeable to them. He was naturally, indeed, timid and cold-hearted; but this defect was concealed by the long course of success with which fortune had favoured his expeditions. And his timidity in the assemblies of the people, with his dread of such persons as made a trade of impeachments, was a popular thing. It contributed not a little to gain him the regard of the multitude, who fear those that despise, and promote those that fear them; because in general the highest honour, which they can hope to obtain, is not to be contemned by the great.

As Pericles kept the reins of government in his hands by means of real virtue, and by the force of his eloquence, he had no need to hold out false colours, or to use any artifice with the people. In those great endowments Nicias was deficient, but he had greater wealth; and he applied it to the purposes of popularity. On the other hand, he could not, like Cleon, divert and attract the people by an easy manner and the sallies of buffoonery; and therefore he amused them with public shows,

[7] For some account of this man, see the Life of Pericles, Vol. II.

gymnastic exercises, and various exhibitions of the same kind, far exceeding in point of magnificence and elegance all that went before him, and those of his own times too. Two of his offerings to the gods are to be seen at this day; the one, a statue of Pallas dedicated in the citadel, which has lost part of it's gilding; the other, a small chapel in the temple of Bacchus under the tripods[8], usually offered by those who gain the prize in tragedy. Nicias, indeed, had been already victorious in several of those contests, and was never defeated. It is said, that in a chorus of that kind one of his slaves appeared in the character of Bacchus. This slave was of an uncommon size and beauty, though he had not yet arrived at maturity; and the people were so charmed with him, that they gave him long plaudits. At last, Nicias rose up and said, "He "should think it an act of impiety to retain a person in servitude, who seemed by the public voice to "be consecrated to a god;" and enfranchised him upon the spot.

His regulations with respect to Delos are still celebrated, as worthy of the tutelar deity of the place. Before his time the choirs, which the cities sent to sing the praises of Apollo[9], were accustomed to land in a disorderly manner; because the inhabitants of the island used to run up to the ship, and press them to sing before they had disembarked, so that they were forced to strike up, as they were putting on their robes and garlands. But when Nicias had the conduct of this ceremony, known by the name of 'Theoria,' he landed first in the isle of Rhenia with the choir, the victims, and all the other necessary preparations. He had taken care

[8] These are mentioned likewise by Plato, in his Gorgias, where it appears that they were a joint offering of himself and his brothers.*

[9] There was a select band of music, annually sent by the principal cities of Greece; and it was looked upon as an honourable commission, to have the management of it. Rhenia, mentioned below, was separated by a very narrow strait from Delos.

to have a bridge constructed before he left Athens, which should reach from that isle to Delos, and which was magnificently gilded and adorned with garlands, rich stuffs, and tapestry. In the night he threw his bridge over the channel, which was not large, and at break of day marched over it at the head of the procession, with his choir richly habited and singing hymns to the god. After the sacrifices, the games, and the banquets were finished, he consecrated a palm-tree of brass to Apollo, and likewise a field which he had purchased for ten thousand drachmas; the rent of which the Delians were to expend in sacrifices and feasting, and at the same time to pray for Apollo's blessing upon the founder. This is inscribed on a pillar, which he left in Delos as a monument of his benefaction. As for the palm-tree, it was broken by the winds; and the fragment falling upon a great statue [10], which the people of Naxos had set up, demolished it.

It might seem, that most of these things were done for ostentation, and with a view to vulgar popularity. Nevertheless, we may collect from the rest of his life and conduct, that religion had the principal share in these dedications, and that popularity was but a secondary motive. For he certainly was remarkable for his fear of the gods, and pious (as Thucydides [11] observes) to a degree of superstition. It is related in the Dialogues of Pasiphon [12], that he sacrificed every day; and that he had a soothsayer in his house, who was professedly retained to inquire into the success of the public affairs, but was in reality much more frequently consulted about his own; particularly as to the success of his silver-mines in the borough of Laurium [13],

[10] A statue, which the Naxians had dedicated to Apollo. The pedestal has been discovered by some modern travellers, with the inscription, Ναξιοι Απολλωνι.

[11] vii. 50.

[12] Mentioned by Diog. Laert. ii. 6.

[13] See the Life of Themistocles, Vol. I. not. (12)

which in general afforded a large revenue, but were not worked without some danger. He maintained there a multitude of slaves, and the greatest part of his fortune consisted in silver: so that he had many retainers, who asked favours, and were not sent away empty. For he gave not only to those, who deserved his bounty, but to such also as might be able to do him harm; and bad men found resources in his fears, as well as good men in his liberality. The comic poets bear witness to what I have advanced. Teleclides[14] introduces a trading informer speaking thus:

Not a mina would Charicles give to prevent me
  From telling, that he was his mother's first brat:
While Nicias gives me four, out of his plenty:
  You ask perhaps, "Why?" But I won't tell you that.
I know though: but then he's my friend, and he's prudent—

Eupolis, in his 'Marica,' brings another informer upon the stage, who meets with some poor ignorant man, and thus addresses him:

Inf. How long is't, since you met with Nicias?
Poor Man. Till now i'th' market, I ne'er saw his face.
Inf. You've heard, my friends, this honest man confesses
He has seen Nicias; and wherefore seen him,
Except to sell his vote? He's caught i'th' fact.
Poet. Fools! to suppose that such a man as Nicias
Can e'er be caught in vicious practices!

Cleon, in Aristophanes, menacingly exclaims,

I'll outbawl every orator, and make e'en Nicias tremble[15].

[14] Teleclides was a comic writer of Athens, contemporary with Pericles, Nicias, and Aristophanes. Eupolis was rather earlier, and perished in crossing the Hellespont, a victim (it is supposed) of some one, whom he had offended by his sarcastic compositions.*

[15] This is in Aristophanes, Equit. 357. It is not Cleon, but Agoracritus, who speaks.

Phrynichus, mentioned below, was also a dramatist of those times.

And Phrynichus glances at his excessive timidity, when speaking of another person he says,

He was a gallant soul, that well know I;
And ne'er, like Nicias, walk'd with downcast eye.

Under this apprehension of informers, he would not sup or discourse with any of the citizens, or mix in any of those conversations or parties, which make the time pass so agreeably. During his Archonship, he used to remain in court till night, being always the first who came and the last who went away. When he had no public business upon his hands, he shut himself up at home, and was extremely difficult of access. And if any persons came to the gate, his friends went and begged them to excuse him, because he had affairs under consideration of great importance to the state.

The person, who assisted him most in acting this farce, and gaining him the reputation of a man constantly intent upon business, was one Hiero; who had been brought up in his house, and had had a liberal education, and a taste for music given him there. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus [16]; some of whose poems are still extant, and who having conducted a colony into Italy founded the city of Thurii. This Hiero transacted all the private business of Nicias with the soothsayers; and whenever he came among the people used to inform them, what a laborious and miserable life Nicias led for their sakes. "He cannot go to the bath," said he, "or to the "table, but some affair of state solicits his attention; "and he neglects his own concerns, to take care of "those of the public. He can scarcely find time for "repose, till the other citizens have had their first "sleep. Amidst these cares and labours his health

[16] From having first taught the Athenians the coining of brass money, as we learn from Athenæus, xv. For an account of Thurii, see the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. not. (38.)*

"declines daily, and his temper is so broken, that "his friends no longer approach him with pleasure; "but he loses them also, along with his fortune, in "your service. Meanwhile, other statesmen gain "friends, and grow rich in their employments, and "are sleek and merry in the steerage of govern- "ment."

In fact, the life of Nicias was a life of so much care, that he might have justly applied to himself the expression of Agamemnon;

> In vain the glare of pomp proclaims me lord,
> I'm servant of the people [17].

The commons, he perceived, availed themselves of the services of those, who were distinguished for their eloquence or capacity; but were always jealous and on their guard against their great abilities, and endeavoured to humble them, and to obstruct their progress in glory. This appeared in the condemnation of Pericles, in the banishment of Damon, in the suspicions entertained of Antipho the Rhamnusian, but (above all) in the despair of Paches, who had taken Lesbos, and who being summoned to give an account of his conduct drew his sword, and killed himself in open court [18].

Warned by these examples, he endeavoured to avoid such expeditions, as he thought long and difficult; and whenever he did take the command, made it his business to proceed upon a sure plan. For this reason, he was generally successful: yet he ascribed his successes, not to his own wisdom, valour, or virtue, but to Fortune, and took refuge under the wings of the

[17] Eurip. Iph. in Aul. 449.

[18] See the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. With regard to Antipho, an orator who chiefly contributed to establish the tyranny of the Four Hundred upon the ruins of the democracy of Athens, see Thucyd. viii. 68.; who likewise (iii. 28.), as well as Diod. Sic. xii. 55., gives a detailed account of the expedition of Paches to Lesbos, but makes no mention of his death.*

divinity; contenting himself with a smaller portion of honour, lest envy should rob him of the whole.

The event showed the prudence of his conduct. For, though the Athenians received many great blows in those times, none of them could be imputed to Nicias. When they were defeated by the Chalcidians in Thrace, Calliades[19] and Xenophon had the command; Demosthenes was general, when they miscarried in Ætolia; and, when they lost a thousand men at Delium[20], they were under the conduct of Hippocrates. As for the plague, it was commonly thought to have been occasioned by Pericles; who in order to draw the burghers out of the way of the war, shut them up in the city, where they contracted sickness by their change of situation and diet[21].

None of these misfortunes were imputed to Nicias. On the contrary, he took Cythera[22], an island well situated for annoying Laconia, and at that time inhabited by Lacedæmonians: he recovered many places in Thrace, which had revolted from the Athenians: he shut up the Megarensians within their walls, and reduced the island of Minoa. Thence he sallied soon afterward, and got possession of the port of Nisæa. He likewise made a descent upon the territories of Corinth, beat the troops of that state in a pitched battle, and killed great numbers of them; Lycophron, their general, being included among the slain.

He happened to leave behind the bodies of two of his men, who were missed in carrying off the dead.

[19] We ought perhaps, with M. Reiske, to read 'Callias.' (See Menag. on Diog. Laert. ii. 45.)

[20] Delium in Bœotia. 'Delos,' the common reading, is undoubtedly wrong: for the Athenians had no such loss there. Their defeat at Delium is related at large by Thucydides, iv. 100.

[21] See the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. not. (98.) The number shut up in the city might augment, but could hardly have created it.*

[22] *Mod.* Cerigo; an island not far from Cape Malea, where the Lacedæmonians kept a garrison, and annually sent a magistrate to administer justice. For it's capture, see Thucyd. iv. 53, &c.

Minoa, mentioned below, was off the coast of Megara, of which Nisæa was a maritime town.*

But as soon as he knew it, he stopped his course, and sent an herald to the enemy to ask permission to take them away. This he did, though there was a law and custom subsisting, by which generals requesting a treaty for carrying off the dead give up the victory, and are not at liberty to erect a trophy. And indeed those who are so far masters of the field, that the enemy cannot bury their dead without permission, appear to be conquerors, because no man would beg what he could command. Nicias, however, chose rather to renounce the credit of conquest, than to leave two of his countrymen unburied [23].

After he had ravaged the coast of Laconia, and defeated the Lacedæmonians who attempted to oppose him, he took the fortress of Thyræa [24], then held by the Æginetæ, made the garrison prisoners, and carried them to Athens. Demosthenes having fortified Pylos [25], the Peloponnesians besieged it both by sea and land. A battle ensued, in which they were worsted, and about four hundred Spartans threw themselves into the isle Sphacteria. The taking of them appeared, and indeed was, an object of importance to the Athenians. But the siege proved difficult, because there was no water to be had upon the spot, and it was troublesome and expensive to get convoys thither: in summer they were obliged to take a long

[23] The burying of the dead was a duty of great importance in the heathen world. The fable of the ghost of an unburied person not being allowed to pass the Styx is well known. About eight years after the death of Nicias, the Athenians put six of their generals to death, for not having interred those soldiers that fell in the battle of Arginusæ. See the Life of Pericles, Vol. II. not. (108.)

[24] Thyræa was a fort situated between Laconia and the territory of the Argives. It formerly belonged to the Lacedæmonians; but they gave it to the Æginetæ, who had been expelled from their country. (Thucyd. iv. 56.)

[25] The Peloponnesians and their allies had entered Attica under the conduct of Agis the son of Archidamus, and ravaged the country. Demosthenes, the Athenian general, made a diversion by seizing and fortifying Pylos. This brought Agis back to the defence of his own country. (Thucyd. ib. 3. &c.) Sphacteria lay off the coast of Messenia, a little to the north of the bay of Pylos.

circuit, and in winter, it was absolutely impracticable. They were much perplexed therefore about the affair, and repented having refused the terms of peace, which the Lacedæmonians had offered by their embassadors.

It was through Cleon, that this embassy had not taken effect; he opposed the peace, because Nicias gave it his support. Cleon was his mortal enemy, and seeing him countenance the Lacedæmonians, persuaded the people to reject their propositions by a formal decree. But when they found the siege protracted to a great length, and that there was almost a famine in their camp, they expressed their resentment against Cleon. He threw the blame however upon Nicias, alleging that if the enemy escaped, it must be through his slow and timid operations: "Had I been the general," said he. "they "could not have held out so long." The Athenians instantly replied, "Why then don't you now "advance against them?" And Nicias rose up and declared, "He would freely resign to him the command in the affair of Pylos: let him take what "forces he pleased; and instead of showing his "courage in words, where there was no danger, go, "and achieve actions worthy the attention of his "country."

Cleon, disconcerted with the unexpected offer, at first declined it. But when he found that the Athenians insisted upon it, and that Nicias raised a clamour against him on the occasion, his pride was hurt; and in the heat of his indignation, he not only undertook the expedition, but affirmed, "He would in "twenty days either put the enemy to the sword, or "bring them alive to Athens."

The people laughed at his declaration [26], instead of

[26] The wiser sort hoped either to have the pleasure of seeing the Lacedæmonians brought prisoners to Athens, or else of getting rid of Cleon's importunate pretensions. (L.) But the latter advantage would, surely, have been dearly purchased. See Thucyd. (lib. 28.) whom in general, throughout the whole of this Life, Plutarch has almost exactly copied.*

giving it any credit. They had long, indeed, been accustomed to divert themselves with the sallies of his vanity. One day, for instance, when a general assembly was to be held, they had waited for him a considerable time. At last he came, when their patience was almost exhausted, with a garland upon his head, and desired them to adjourn till the day following: "For, to-day," says he, "I am not at leisure; I have strangers to entertain, and I have been sacrificing to the gods." The Athenians only laughed, and immediately rose up, and dismissed the assembly.

Cleon, however, was so much favoured by fortune in this commission, that he acquitted himself better than any one since Demosthenes. He returned within the time prefixed, after he had compelled all the Spartans who did not fall in battle to deliver up their arms, and brought them prisoners to Athens.

This reflected no small disgrace upon Nicias. It was considered as something baser and worse than throwing away his shield, voluntarily through cowardice to have surrendered his command, and given his enemy an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his abdication. Hence, Aristophanes ridicules him in his comedy called 'The Birds:'

> By heaven, this is no time for us to slumber,
> Or, Nicias-like, procrastinate.

And in his piece, entitled 'The Husbandmen,' he introduces two Athenians discoursing as follows:

> 1. I'd rather mind my farm. 2. And who forbids you?
> 1. You do. I'd freely pay a thousand drachmas,
> If you'd excuse my serving. 2 We accept them.
> These, with the fine of Nicias, make two thousand.

Nicias in this affair was not only unjust to himself, but to the state; having suffered Cleon to gain a degree of credit and power, which puffed him up to insupportable arrogance and effrontery. Many

evils were thus brought upon the commonwealth, of which Nicias himself had his full share. We cannot but consider it as one great corruption, that Cleon now banished all decorum from the general assembly. It was he who in his speeches first broke out into violent exclamations, flung open his robes, smote upon his thigh, and ran from one end of the Rostrum to the other. This presently introduced such a licentiousness and disregard to decency among those, who directed the affairs of state, that it threw the whole government into confusion.

At this time, there sprung up another popular orator at Athens, Alcibiades. He did not, however, prove so radically corrupt as Cleon. As it is said of the land of Egypt, that on account of it's extreme fertility,

> There plenty sows the fields with wholesome green,
> But scatters many a baneful weed between[27];

so in Alcibiades there were very different qualities, but all in extremes: and these extremes opened a door to many innovations. So that, when Nicias had got rid of Cleon, he had no time to establish any lasting tranquillity in Athens; but as soon as he had arranged matters in a salutary way, Alcibiades' ambition came upon him like a torrent, and bore him back into the storms of war.

It happened thus: The persons, who most opposed the peace of Greece, were Cleon and Brasidas[28]. War helped to hide the vices of the former, and to display the good qualities of the latter. Cleon found opportunities for acts of injustice and oppression, and Brasidas for great and glorious actions. But after they had both fallen in the battle near Amphipolis, Nicias applied to the Lacedæmonians on one hand, who had been for some time desirous

[27] Hom. Od. iv. 229.*

[28] An illustrious Spartan general of that age. The battle of Amphipolis, here mentioned, took place Ol. lxxxix. 3., B. C. 422.*

of peace, and to the Athenians on the other, now no longer hot in the pursuit of blood. In fact, both parties were tired of hostilities, and ready to let their weapons drop out of their hands. Nicias therefore used his endeavours to reconcile them, and indeed to deliver the other Greeks from the calamities which they had suffered, to bring them to taste the sweets of repose, and to re-establish a long and lasting reign of happiness. At the very outset he found the rich, the aged, and all who were employed in the culture of the ground, disposed to peace; and by addressing himself to the rest, and expostulating with them respectively, he soon abated their ardour for war.

His next step was to give the Spartans hopes of an accommodation, and to exhort them to propose such measures as might effect it. They readily confided in him, because they knew the goodness of his heart; of this, a late instance had occurred in his humane treatment of their countrymen, who had been taken prisoners at Pylos, and who found their chains greatly lightened by his good offices.

They had already agreed to a suspension of arms for a year; during which period they often met and enjoyed again the pleasures of ease and security, the company of strangers as well as of nearer friends, and expressed their mutual wishes for the continuance of a life undisturbed by the horrors of war. With pleasure they heard the choruses singing,

> Arachne freely now has leave
> Her webs around my spear to weave[29];

and recollected with pleasure the saying, "That in time of peace men are awaked, not by the sound of the trumpet, but by the crowing of the cock." They abused and execrated those, who represented it as

[29] Such were the legitimate strains of the chorus, according to Horace,

> *Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis; ille salubrem*
> *Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis.*

(A. P. 199.)

the decree of fate, that the war should last three times nine years[30]; and, this free intercourse leading them to canvass every point, they at last signed the peace[31].

It was now the general opinion, that they were at the end of all their troubles. Nothing was talked of, but Nicias. They pronounced him a man beloved of the gods, who in recompence of his piety had thought proper that the greatest and most desirable of all blessings should bear his name. To him, it is certain they ascribed the peace, as they had done the war to Pericles. And indeed the one had plunged them upon slight pretences into numberless calamities, and the other had persuaded them to bury their greatest injuries in oblivion, and to unite again as friends. It is, therefore, called 'the Nician peace' to this day.

It was agreed in the articles, that both parties should restore the towns and prisoners, which they had taken; and it was to be determined by lot, whether of them should do it first: but, according to Theophrastus, Nicias secured the lot by dint of money, so that the Lacedæmonians were forced to begin. As the Corinthians and Bœotians were displeased at these proceedings, and endeavoured by sowing jealousies between the contracting powers to renew the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to link themselves still closer together by an alliance, which should render them more formidable to such as were disposed to fly off, and more steady to each other.

During these transactions, Alcibiades at first made it his business privately to oppose the peace. For

30 "I remember (says Thucydides, v. 26.) that, throughout the whole war, many maintained it was to last three times nine years. And if we reckon the first ten years of the war, the truce very short and ill-observed which followed them, the treaties ill-executed, and the consequent renewal of hostilities, we shall find the oracle fully justified by the event."

31 Peace for fifty years was agreed upon, and signed the year following; but it was quickly violated. (Id. ib. 19.)

he was, naturally, disinclined to inaction; and was moreover offended at the Lacedæmonians, on account of their attachment to Nicias, and their neglect and disregard of himself. But, when he found this private opposition ineffectual, he adopted another method. In a little time, he perceived the Athenians did not look upon the Lacedæmonians so kindly as usual; because they thought themselves injured by the alliance, which their new friends had contracted with the Bœotians, and because they had not delivered up Panactus[32] and Amphipolis in the condition in which they found them. He therefore dwelt upon these points, and endeavoured to inflame the people's resentment. He then prevailed upon the republic of Argos to send an embassy, for the purpose of negociating a treaty with the Athenians.

When the Lacedæmonians had intelligence of this, they sent embassadors to Athens with full powers to settle all matters in dispute. These plenipotentiaries were introduced to the senate, and their proposals seemed perfectly just. Alcibiades upon this, fearing they would gain the people by the same overtures, circumvented them by perfidious oaths and asseverations: promising to "secure the success "of their commission, if they would suppress the "avowal of their full powers; and assuring them, "that this would be the only effectual way." They gave credit to his insinuations, and went over from Nicias to the other party.

Upon introducing them to the people, the first question which he asked them was, "Whether or "not they came with full powers?" They, as they had been previously instructed by him, denied it. On which Alcibiades, contrary to their expectation, changing sides, called the senate to bear witness to their former declarations; and desired the people, "Not to give the least credit or attention to such

[32] A boundary town between Attica and Bœotia, belonging to the former.*

"manifest prevaricators, who upon the same point "asserted one thing one day, and another thing the "next.*" Their confusion, as may well be imagined, was inexpressible, and Nicias was struck dumb with grief and astonishment. The people of course immediately sent for the deputies of Argos, to ratify the treaty with them. But at that very moment there happened a slight shock of an earthquake, which fortunately for Nicias broke up the assembly.

Next day they re-assembled, and Nicias by exerting all his powers with much difficulty prevailed upon them not to put the last hand to the league with Argos; but, instead of that, to send him to Sparta[33], where he assured them all would be well. When he arrived there, he was treated with the utmost respect as a man of honour, and one who had shown that republic many marks of his friendship: but as the party that favoured the Bœotians was the strongest, he could effect nothing[34]. He returned therefore not only with disrepute and disgrace, but in great fear of the Athenians, who were vehemently chagrined and provoked, that at his persuasion they had set free so many prisoners, and those too prisoners of so much distinction. For the captives brought from Pylos were of the first families in Sparta, and had connexions of friendship or of blood with the most eminent personages there. They did not, however, express their resentment in any act of severity; they only elected Alcibiades general, and took the Mantineans and Eleans (who had abandoned the Lacedæmonian interest) into league with them, along with the Argives. They then sent a marauding party to Pylos, for the purpose of mak-

* See the Life of Alcibiades, Vol II.

33 There were some others joined in commission with him. (Thucyd. ib. 45, 46.)

34 Nicias insisted, that the Spartans should renounce their alliance with the Bœotians, because they had not acceded to the peace. (Id. ib.)

ing excursions thence into Laconia. Thus the war broke out afresh.

As the quarrel between Nicias and Alcibiades rose daily to a greater height, the Ostracism was proposed. To this the people have recourse at certain periods, and by it they expel for ten years any one who is suspected for his authority, or envied for his wealth. Both parties were much alarmed at the danger, not doubting that it would fall to the lot of one of them. The Athenians detested the conduct and manners of Alcibiades, and at the same time, as we have related more at large in his Life, they dreaded his enterprising spirit. As for Nicias, his riches exposed him to envy, and the rather, because there was nothing social or popular in his manner of living; on the contrary, his recluse turn seemed owing to an inclination for oligarchy, and perfectly in a foreign taste. Besides, he had combated their opinions, and by making them pursue their own interest against their inclination was, of course, become obnoxious. In one word, the whole was a dispute between the young who wished for war, and the old who wished for peace. The former endeavoured to make the Ostracism fall upon Nicias, and the latter on Alcibiades: but,

In civil broils the worst emerge to honour.

The Athenians being divided into two factions, the subtilest and most profligate of wretches gained ground. Such was Hyperbolus of the ward of Perithois; a man whose boldness was not owing to any well-grounded influence, but whose influence was owing to his boldness, and who by the credit, which he had acquired, was a disgrace to the city.

This wretch[35] had no apprehension of being exiled by the honourable suffrage of the Ostracism, because he knew himself to be fitter for a gibbet. Hoping

[35] For an account of this fellow, and this transaction, see the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.*

however that, if one of these great men were banished, he should be able to make head against the other, he did not dissemble his joy at this spirit of party, but strove to exasperate the people against both. Nicias and Alcibiades perceiving his malice came to a private interview, in which they agreed to unite their interests; and thus avoided the dreaded sentence themselves, and turned it upon Hyperbolus.

At first the people were pleased, and laughed at the event; but, upon recollection, it gave them considerable uneasiness to think, that the Ostracism was dishonoured by it's having fallen upon a person unworthy of it. They were persuaded, that there was a dignity in it, or rather that to such men as Thucydides and Aristides it was a punishment; whereas to Hyperbolus it was an honour, of which he might be proud, since his profligacy had placed him on the same list with the greatest patriots. Hence Plato, the comic poet, thus speaks of him:

> No doubt, his crimes were ripe for chastisement;
> But different should have been his brand: The shell
> For such low villains never was intended.

In fact, no one was subsequently banished by it. He was the last; and Hipparchus the Cholargian, a relation of the tyrant, was the first[36]. From this event it appears how intricate are the ways of Fortune, and how incomprehensible to human reason. If Nicias had run the risk of the Ostracism, he would either have expelled Alcibiades, and lived afterward in his native city in full security: or if it had been

[36] With this account of the epoch of it's institution Diod. Sic., xi. 55, and Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 24., agree; though the former makes no mention of the name of it's first victim, and the latter calls him Clisthenes, grandson of the tyrant of Sicyon of that name, and it's original author. Some later writers, without sufficient authority, carry back the date of it's establishment to the time of Theseus. This limited and mitigated species of banishment was not peculiar to Athens, but prevailed in several other of the Greek republics.*

carried against him, and he had been forced to retire, he would have avoided the impending stroke of misery, and preserved the reputation of a wise and experienced general. I am not ignorant that, according to Theophrastus, Hyperbolus was banished in the contest between Phæax and Alcibiades, and not in that with Nicias. But most historians represent the matter, as above related.

About this time the Ægesteans and Leontines sent an embassy, to entreat the Athenians to undertake the Sicilian expedition. Nicias opposed it, but he was over-ruled by the address and ambition of Alcibiades [37]. Alcibiades indeed had previously gained the assembly by his discourses, and corrupted the people to such a degree with vain hopes, that the young men in their places of exercise, and the old men in the shops and other circles of conversation drew plans of Sicily, and exhibited the nature of it's seas with all it's ports and bearings on the side next Africa. For they did not consider Sicily as the reward of their operations, but only as a place of arms; whence they were to advance to the conquest of Carthage, nay, of all Africa, and to make themselves masters of the seas within the pillars of Hercules.

While they were thus intent upon this expedition, Nicias had not many on his side, either among the commons or the nobility, to concur with him in his opposition. For the rich, fearing it might be suspected that they were afraid to serve in person, or to incur the expense of fitting out men of war, contrary to their better judgement, sat silent. Nicias, however, indefatigably and invariably set himself against it; neither did he give up his point even after the decree had been passed for the war, and he himself elected general along with Alcibiades and Lamachus, his

[37] See Thucyd. (vi. 8, &c.) for all the particulars of the Sicilian expedition, and particularly for the three admirable speeches made upon this occasion by these great rivals. See also the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.*

own name standing foremost in the suffrages. In the first subsequent assembly he rose to dissuade them, and to protest against their proceedings. In conclusion he attacked Alcibiades for plunging the state into a dangerous and foreign war, merely with a view to his own emolument and renown. But his arguments had no effect. They thought a man of his experience the fitter to conduct this enterprise, and that nothing could contribute more to it's success, than to unite his caution with the fiery spirit of Alcibiades, and the boldness of Lamachus[38]. They were still, therefore, more confirmed in their choice. Besides, Demostratus, who of all the orators took the greatest pains to encourage the people to that war, rose and said, "He would soon put an end to "Nicias' excuses;" and immediately procured a decree, that the generals should have a discretionary power to lay plans, and carry them into execution both at home and abroad.

It is stated, indeed, that the priests strongly opposed the expedition. But Alcibiades had other soothsayers to set against them; and announced, that certain ancient oracles promised the Athenians great glory in Sicily. The envoys likewise, who had been sent to consult the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, returned with an answer, importing that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans.

If any of the citizens knew of bad presages, they cautiously concealed them, lest they should seem to speak inauspiciously. Neither would any warnings have availed, when they were not moved by the most clear and obvious signs. Such was the mutilation of the Hermæ[39], whose heads were all struck off in one night, except that which was called 'the

[38] The reading in the original text, πραοτητα, seems obviously from the context to be erroneous. See also the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.

[39] These Hermæ, or statues of Mercury (as has been observed in a former note), were square figures placed by the Athenians at the gates of their temples, and the doors of their houses.

Mercury of Andocides,' and which had been consecrated by the tribe of Ægeïs before the door of the house then occupied by that person. Such, also, was the pollution of the altar of the Twelve Gods: A man got astride upon it, and there emasculated himself with a stone. At the temple of Delphi there was a golden statue of Pallas, which the Athenians had erected upon a palm-tree of brass, in commemoration of the victory over the Medes. This the crows came and pecked at for several days, and devoured or destroyed the golden fruit of the tree. The Athenians, however, contended that these were only fictions propagated at Delphi on the instigation of the Syracusans. A certain oracle, likewise, ordered them to fetch a priestess of Minerva from Clazomenæ; and when she came, they found her name was Hesychia [40], by which the Deity seemed to exhort them to remain quiet. Meton [41] the astrologer, whether he were struck with these signs or by the eye of human reason discovered the impending danger (for he had a command in the army), feigned himself mad, and set fire to his house. Others say, he used no pretence of madness; but having burnt down his house in the night, addressed himself next morning to the assembly in a forlorn condition, and desired the citizens in compassion for his misfortune to excuse his son, who was to have gone out captain of a galley to Sicily.

The Genius of Socrates [42] upon this occasion warned that wise man, by his usual tokens, that the expedition would prove fatal to Athens. He mentioned this to several of his friends and acquaintance, and the warning was commonly talked of. Many were likewise greatly discouraged on account of the

[40] *i. e.* 'tranquil.'*

[41] For this fact, and for the mutilation of the Hermæ mentioned above, see the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II.

Meton is celebrated for his having reformed the Athenian calendar, and from him astronomers have denominated the lunar of nineteen years 'the Metonic '*

[42] See the Life of Alcibiades, ib. not (46.)

time, at which the fleet happened to be sent out. The women were then celebrating the feasts of Adonis, during which there were to be seen in every quarter of the city images of the dead, and funeral processions; the women accompanying them with dismal lamentations. So that those, who set any value upon omens, were full of anxious forebodings for the fate of their countrymen. They trembled to think, that an armament fitted out at such an immense expense, and which made so glorious an appearance, might so quickly lose it's consequence[43].

As for Nicias, he showed himself a wise and worthy man, in opposing the expedition while it was under consideration; and in not suffering himself, after it was resolved upon, to be dazzled by vain hopes, or by the eminence of his post, into a change of opinion. Nevertheless, when he could neither divert the people from their purpose, nor by all his efforts get himself excused from taking the command, but found himself placed as it were by actual violence at the head of a great army, it was no longer time for caution and timid delay. He should not then have looked back from his ship, like a child; nor by a multitude of protestations that his better counsels were over-ruled, have disheartened his collegues, and abated the ardour of his troops, which alone could give him a chance of success. He should have immediately attacked the enemy with the utmost vigour, and made Fortune blush at the calamities which she was preparing.

But his conduct was very different. When Lamachus proposed to make a descent close by Syracuse[44] and to give battle under the walls, and Alcibiades suggested that they ought first to reduce the cities which owned the authority of Syracuse, and then march against the principal enemy, Nicias opposed both. He preferred coasting along Sicily

[43] Alluding to the transient bloom of the flowers, in the gardens of Adonis. See the Life of Alcibiades, Vol. II., not. (48.)

[44] Thucyd. vi. 19.

without any act of hostility, in order to show what an armament they had. He then recommended their returning to Athens, after having left a small reinforcement with the Ægesteans, as a taste of the Athenian strength. Thus he intercepted all their schemes, and broke down their spirits.

The Athenians soon after this called Alcibiades home to take his trial, and Nicias remained, joined indeed with another in commission, but first in authority. There was now no end of his delays. He either made an idle parade of sailing along the coast, or else sat still deliberating; until the spirit of confidence which buoyed up his own troops was evaporated, as well as the consternation and alarm, which the first sight of his armament had excited in the enemy.

It is true that, previously to the departure of Alcibiades, they had sailed toward Syracuse with sixty galleys, fifty of which they drew up in line of battle before the harbour; and sent in the other ten to reconnoitre the place. These advanced to the foot of the walls, and by proclamation invited the Leontines to return to their old habitations[45]. At the same time they happened to take one of the enemy's vessels with the registers on board, in which all the Syracusans were set down according to their tribes. These were usually kept at some distance from the city in the temple of Jupiter Olympius, but had then been sent for to be examined, in order to the forming of a list of persons able to bear arms. When these registers were brought to the Athenian generals, and such a prodigious number of names was displayed, the soothsayers were greatly concerned at the accident; as fearing that the prophecy, " that

[45] They ordered proclamation to be made by a herald, that the Athenians were come to restore the Leontines to their country, in virtue of the relation and alliance subsisting between them. In consequence of which, such of the Leontines as were in Syracuse, had nothing to do but to repair to the Athenians, who would take care to conduct them. Id. ib.

the Athenians should take all the Syracusans," might possibly in this have it's entire accomplishment. It is asserted however, that it was fulfilled upon a subsequent occasion, when Callippus the Athenian, after he had killed Dion, made himself master of Syracuse [46].

When Alcibiades quitted Sicily with a small retinue, the whole power devolved upon Nicias. Lamachus indeed was a man of great courage and honour, and freely exposed his person in the time of action; but his circumstances were so mean, that whenever he made up his accounts of a campaign, he charged a small sum for clothes and sandals. Nicias on the contrary, beside his other advantages, derived considerable authority from his eminence both as to wealth and name. We are told that upon one occasion, when the Athenian generals met in a council of war, Nicias desired Sophocles the poet [47] to give his opinion first, because he was the oldest man: "It is true," said Sophocles, "I am older in "respect of years; but you are older in respect of "service." In the same manner, he now brought Lamachus to act under his orders, though he was the abler general: and his proceedings were, invariably, timid and dilatory. At first he made the circuit of the island, with his ships at an immense distance from the enemy, which served only to raise their spirits. His next operation was, to lay siege

[46] The particulars of this story will be detailed in the Life of Dion.*

[47] Not the poet, says M. Ricard, who had died long before this period: from Blair however it appears, on the contrary, that he did not die till some time after it, B. C. 406. Æt. 91. The French translator quotes a happy quatrain from an ode of the French poet Rousseau, on the death of the prince of Conti, as illustrative of Sophocles' sentiment:

Pour qui compte les ans d'une vie inutile,
L'age du vieux Priam passe celui d'Hector:
Pour qui compte les faits, les ans du jeune Achille
*L'egalent à Nestor.**

to the little town of Hybla[48]; and, not succeeding in that affair, he exposed himself to the utmost contempt. He afterward retired to Catana, without any other exploit than that of ruining Hyccara, a small place subject to the barbarians. Laïs the courtesan, who was then but a girl, is said to have been sold among the prisoners, and carried at that time to Peloponnesus.

Toward the end of the summer the Syracusans, he was informed, were become so confident, that they designed to attack him. Nay, some of their cavalry rode up to his trenches, and asked his troops in derision; "Whether they were not rather come to "settle in Catana themselves, than to settle the "Leontines in their old habitations?" Nicias now at last, after much hesitation, determined to sail for Syracuse. In order to land his forces, and encamp them without running any risk, he sent a person of Catana before him; who under pretence of being a deserter should inform the Syracusans that, if they wished to surprise the enemy's camp in a defenceless state, and make themselves masters of their arms and baggage, they had nothing to do but to march to Catana with all their forces on a certain day. "For "the Athenians," said he, "passed the greatest "part of their time within the walls; and such of "the inhabitants as were friends to the Syracusans "had determined, upon their approach, to shut in "the enemy, and to burn their fleet." At the same time he assured them, their partisans were very numerous, and waited with impatience their arrival[49].

This was the best act of generalship, which Nicias performed in Sicily. Having by his stratagem

48 There were three towns of that name on the eastern side of Sicily; Hybla major, Hybla minor, and Hybla Galeotis or Megara.*

49* Nicias knew he could not make a descent from his ships near Syracuse, because the inhabitants were prepared for him; neither could he go by land, for want of cavalry.

drawn the enemy's forces out of Syracuse, so that it was left almost wholly without defence, he sailed thither from Catana, made himself master of their ports, and encamped in a situation where the enemy could least annoy him by that in which their chief strength consisted, and where he himself could easily exert the strength in which he was superior.

The Syracusans, on their return from Catana, drew up before the walls, and Nicias immediately attacked and beat them. They did not however lose any considerable number of men, because their cavalry stopped the Athenians in the pursuit. As Nicias had broken down all the bridges upon the river, he gave Hermocrates an opportunity of encouraging the Syracusans, by observing, "That it "was ridiculous in Nicias to contrive means to pre"vent fighting, as if fighting were not his grand ob"ject." Their consternation indeed and alarm were so great, that instead of the fifteen generals whom they had, they chose three others, and the people promised upon oath to indulge them with a power of acting at discretion[50].

The temple of Jupiter Olympius was near the camp, and the Athenians were anxious to take it, because of the quantity of it's rich offerings in gold and silver. But Nicias industriously put off the attack, and suffered a Syracusan garrison to enter it; persuaded that the plunder, which his troops might get there, would be of no service to the public, and that he should incur the whole blame of the sacrilege.

The news of the victory soon spread over the whole island, but Nicias made not the least improvement of it. He soon retired to Naxos[51], and there

[50] Ουκ αγαθη πολυκοιρανιη, says Homer; and it was upon this principle, not from any 'consternation or alarm,' that in conformity to Hermocrates' advice they reduced the number of their generals from fifteen to three: Hermocrates himself, Heraclides, and Sicanus. (Thucyd. vi. 72, 73.)*

[51] A city between Messina and Catana. There were two indeed

wintered; keeping an army on foot at an enormous expense, and effecting but little, for only a few Sicilians came over to him. The Syracusans, during this interval, recovered their spirits again so as to make another excursion to Catana, in which they ravaged the country, and burned the Athenian camp. Meanwhile, all the world censured Nicias; and said, that by his tedious deliberations, delays, and extreme caution, he lost the time for action. When he did act, there was nothing to be blamed in the manner of it; for he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he was timid and dilatory in forming, a resolution.

After he had determined to return with his forces to Syracuse, he conducted all his movements with so much prudence, expedition, and safety, that he gained the peninsula of Thapsos, disembarked his men, and obtained possession of Epipolæ, before the enemy knew of his approach. He beat on this occasion some infantry, which had been sent to succour the fort, and made three hundred prisoners; he likewise routed their cavalry, which was thought invincible.

But what most astonished the Sicilians, and appeared incredible to the Greeks was, that in a short space of time he enclosed Syracuse with a wall; a city not less than Athens, and much more difficult to be surrounded by such a work on account of the unevenness of the ground, the vicinity of the sea, and the adjoining marshes. Add to this, that it was nearly completed by a man, whose health was in no degree equal to such an undertaking, for he was afflicted with the stone; a circumstance, which alone prevented it's entire completion.

I cannot indeed but admire the attention of the general, and the invincible courage of the soldiers, in effecting what they did, upon this as well as other

of this name very near each other, of which one for the sake of distinction was subsequently called Tauromenium.*

occasions. Euripides, after their defeat and death, wrote this epitaph for them;

> Eight trophies these from Syracuse obtain'd,
> Ere yet the gods were partial.

And in fact we find, that the Athenians gained not only eight, but several more victories of the Syracusans; till the gods or fortune declared against them, at a time when they were arrived at the highest pitch of power. Nicias forced himself, beyond what his health would allow, to attend most of the actions in person; but, when his distemper was very violent, he was obliged to keep his bed in the camp, with a few servants to wait upon him.

In the mean time, Lamachus at the head of the army engaged the Syracusans, who were drawing a cross wall from the city, to hinder the Athenians from finishing theirs. The latter, generally having the advantage, went in too disorderly a manner upon the pursuit; and it happened one day, that Lamachus was left almost alone to receive the enemy's cavalry. Callicrates, an officer remarkable for his strength and courage, advanced before them and gave Lamachus the challenge, which was accepted. The Athenian general received the first wound, which proved mortal; but he returned it upon his adversary, and they fell together. The Syracusans, remaining masters of the body and arms of Lamachus, carried them off; and rushed forward to the Athenian wall, where Nicias lay without any guards to defend him. Roused however by necessity and by the sight of his danger, he ordered those about him to set fire to the materials before the entrenchments, which had been provided for the machines, and to the machines themselves. This put a stop to the Syracusans, and saved Nicias together with the Athenian wall and baggage. For as soon as they beheld the flames, rising in vast columns in the intermediate space, they retired.

Nicias now remained sole commander, but he had reason to form the most sanguine hopes of success. The cities declared for him, and ships laden with provisions came daily to his camp; his affairs being in so good a train, that the Sicilians strove which should first express their attachment. The Syracusans themselves, despairing of holding out much longer, began to talk of proposals for an accommodation. Gylippus who was coming from Lacedæmon to their succour, being informed of the wall built around them and their other difficulties, continued his voyage, not with a view to Sicily which he gave up for lost, but if possible to save the Greek cities in Italy. For the renown of the Athenians was now very extensive: they were represented as carrying all before them, and being under the conduct of a general, whose prudence as well as good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was suddenly elated by his present strength and success; the more so, because he was persuaded, upon private intelligence from Syracuse as well as more public application, that the city was about to capitulate. Hence it was, that he took no account of the approach of Gylippus, nor placed any regular guard to prevent his coming ashore; so that, screened by his utter negligence, Gylippus landed with safety. It was at a great distance from Syracuse, and he found means to collect a considerable army. But the Syracusans were so far from knowing or expecting his arrival, that they had assembled that very day to consider of articles of capitulation: nay, some were for instantly coming to terms, before the city was absolutely enclosed. For there was but a small part of the wall left unfinished, and all the necessary materials were upon the spot.

At this critical and dangerous instant, Gongylus arrived from Corinth with one galley of three banks of oars. The whole town, as might naturally be expected, ran together to meet him. He told them,

Gylippus would soon come with several other ships to their succour. They could not, at first, give him entire credit; but while they were hesitating, a messenger arrived from Gylippus, with orders that they should march out to join him. Immediately upon this, they recovered their spirits, and armed. Gylippus soon arrived, and marshalled his troops in order of battle. As Nicias was drawing up against him, Gylippus rested his arms, and sent a herald with an offer of safe conduct to the Athenians, if they would quit Sicily. Nicias did not deign to give him any answer. But some of the soldiers asked him, by way of ridicule, "Whether "the Syracusans were become so strong by the "arrival of one Lacedæmonian cloke and staff, as "to despise the Athenians, who had lately knocked "off the fetters of three hundred Spartans and re-"leased them, though all abler men and better-hair-"ed than Gylippus."

The Sicilians themselves, indeed, according to Timæus, set no great value upon Gylippus. For they presently discovered his avarice and meanness, and on his first coming among them ridiculed his cloke and his head of hair. Yet the same historian relates, that as soon as he made his appearance, they gathered about him, like birds about an owl, and were ready to follow him wherever he pleased. And the latter account has more of truth in it, than the former. In the staff and cloke they beheld the symbols of the Spartan dignity, and therefore repaired to them. Thucydides also informs us, that Gylippus was the only man, who saved Sicily; and Philistus, a citizen of Syracuse and an eye-witness of those transactions, confirms his assertion.

In the first engagement the Athenians had the advantage, and killed some of the Syracusans, among whom fell Gongylus of Corinth. But the next day, Gylippus showed them the importance of experience in a general; with the very same arms and horses, and on the very same spot, by only altering

his order of battle[52], he beat the Athenians and drove them to their camp. Then taking the stones and other materials, which they had brought for their wall, he continued the cross-wall of the Syracusans, and cut through theirs in such a manner, that if they gained a victory they could make no advantage of it.

Encouraged by this success, the Syracusans manned several vessels; and beating about the country with their cavalry and allies, made many prisoners. Gylippus applied to the towns in person, and they readily listened to him, and lent him all the assistance in their power. So that Nicias, relapsing into his former fears and despondence, at the sight of such a change of affairs, applied to the Athenians by letter either to send another army, or to recall that which he had; and entreated them by all means to permit him, on account of his infirmities, to lay down the command.

The Athenians had designed some time before to send another army into Sicily; but the envy, which the first success of Nicias had excited, had caused them upon several pretences to defer it. Now, however, they hastened the succours. They likewise came to a resolution, that Demosthenes should go in the spring with a respectable fleet; and that Eurymedon[53] should instantly sail (though it was still winter) with money to pay the troops, and acquaint Nicias that the people had appointed Euthydemus and Menander, officers who then served under him, to assist him in his charge.

In the mean time, Nicias was suddenly attacked both by sea and land. At first, part of his fleet was worsted; but in the end he proved victorious,

[52] He had the address to impute the late defeat to himself, and to assure his men that their behaviour was irreproachable. He said, that by ranging them the day before between walls, where their cavalry and archers had not room to act, he had prevented their conquering. (Thucyd. vii. 5, &c.)

[53] Eurymedon went with ten galleys.

and sunk many of the enemy's ships. He could not however succour his troops by land, as the exigence of the case required. Gylippus made a sudden attack upon the fort of Plemmyrium [54], and took it; by which means he became master of the naval stores of the Athenians, and a great quantity of treasure, there deposited. Many of the garrison were either killed, or taken prisoners. But, what was a still heavier blow to Nicias, by the loss of this place he lost the convenience of his convoys. For, as long as he possessed Plemmyrium, the communication was safe and easy; but when that was taken, his supplies reached him with the utmost difficulty, as his transports could not pass without fighting the enemy's ships, which lay at anchor under the fort.

Besides, the Syracusans thought their fleet was beaten, not by the superior strength of the Athenians, but by their having in a disorderly manner engaged in the pursuit. They therefore fitted out a more respectable armament, with a view to a fresh action. Nicias, however, did not choose at present to try the issue of another naval fight; but declared it most absurd, when a large supply of ships and fresh troops were hastening to him under the conduct of Demosthenes, to hazard a battle with a force so much weaker in number and so ill-provided.

On the other hand Menander and Euthydemus, who had been appointed to a temporary share in the command, were led by their ambition and jealousy of Demosthenes and Nicias to strike some extraordinary stroke, in order to be beforehand with the one, and to outdo the most shining actions of the other. Their pretence was the glory of Athens, which they said would be utterly ruined and destroyed, if they exhibited any fear of the Syracusan fleet. Thus they over-ruled Nicias, and gave battle. But they were quickly defeated by a stratagem of Ariston the Corinthian, who was a most excellent

[54] At the entrance of the great harbour of Syracuse.*

seaman[55]. Their left wing, as Thucydides relates, was entirely routed, and they lost great numbers of their men. This loss threw Nicias into the utmost consternation. He reflected upon the misfortunes, which he had incurred while he had the sole command, and that he had now again miscarried through the obstinacy of his collegues.

While he was indulging these reflexions, Demosthenes appeared before the port with a very gallant and formidable fleet. He had seventy-three galleys[56], on board of which were five thousand heavy-armed soldiers; and archers, spearmen, and slingers to the number of three thousand. Their armour glittered, the streamers waved, and the prows of the ships were adorned with a variety of rich paintings. He advanced with loud cheers and martial music, and the whole was conducted in a theatrical manner, in order to strike terror into the enemy.

The Syracusans were now ready to sink into despair. They saw no end or truce to their miseries; their labours and conflicts were all to begin anew, and they had been prodigal of their blood to no purpose. Nicias, however, had not long to rejoice at the arrival of such an army. At the first interview, Demosthenes recommended an immediate attack of the enemy, that they might take Syracuse by a quick and decisive stroke, and return with glory to Athens. Nicias, astonished at his heat and precipitation, desired him to adopt no rash or desperate measures. He assured him that delay would be injurious to the enemy, since they were already in want of money, and their allies would soon forsake both them and their cause; so that, when they be-

55 Ariston advised the captains of the galleys to have refreshments ready for their men on the shore, while the Athenians imagined they went into the town for them. The Athenians, thus deceived, landed themselves, and went to dinner. In the mean time the Syracusans, having made an expeditious meal, re-embarked, and attacked the Athenian ships, when there was scarcely any body on board to defend them. (Thucyd. vii. 39.)

56 Diodorus Siculus makes them three hundred and ten.

gan to feel the hard hand of necessity, they would undoubtedly apply to him again and surrender upon terms, as they had been about to do before. In fact, Nicias had a private correspondence with several persons in Syracuse, who advised him to wait with patience, because the inhabitants were tired out with the war, and weary of Gylippus; and, when their wants should become a little more pressing, they would presently abandon the dispute.

As Nicias hinted these things in an enigmatical manner, and did not choose to speak out, it gave occasion to the other generals to accuse him of timidity. "He is coming upon us," said they, "with "his old, dilatory, slow, over-cautious counsels, "by which the ardent vigour of his troops was before destroyed. Instead of leading them on immediately, he waited till their spirit was gone, "and the enemy began to look upon them with "contempt." The other officers therefore listened to Demosthenes, and Nicias was at last forced to give up the point.

Upon this, Demosthenes put himself at the head of the land-forces, and attacked Epipolæ in the night. As he came upon the guards by surprise, he slew many of them, and routed those who stood upon their defence. Not content with this advantage, he proceeded till he came to the quarter, where the Bœotians were posted. These closed their ranks, and first charged the Athenians, advancing with levelled pikes, and with all the alarm of voices; by which means they repulsed them, and killed a considerable number. Terror and confusion spread through the rest of the army. They, who still kept their ground and were victorious, were encountered by those that fled: and they, who were marching down from Epipolæ to support the foremost bands, were thrown into disorder by the fugitives: for they fell foul of one another, and took their friends for enemies. The alarm and tumult indeed were inexpressible, occasioned by their

fears, the uncertainty of their movements, and the impossibility of discerning objects in a night, which was neither quite dark nor sufficiently clear; the moon being near her setting, and her little remaining light rendered useless by the shade of so many bodies and weapons moving backward and forward. Hence the apprehension of meeting with an enemy made the Athenians suspect their friends, and involved them in the utmost perplexity and distress. They happened likewise to have the moon upon their backs, which casting their shadows before them both hid the number of their men, and the glittering of their arms; whereas the reflexion from the shields of the enemy made them appear more numerous, and better armed than they really were. At last, they gave way, and were entirely routed. The enemy pressed hard upon them on all sides, and killed great numbers. Many others met their death from the weapons of their friends. Not a few fell headlong from the rocks or walls. The rest were dispersed about the fields, where they were picked up the next morning by the cavalry, and put to the sword. In this action the Athenians lost two thousand men; and very few returned with their arms to the head-quarters.

This was a severe blow to Nicias, though it was what he expected; and he inveighed against the rash proceedings of Demosthenes. That general defended himself as well as he could; but at the same time he gave it as his opinion, that they should embark, and return home as fast as possible. "We "cannot hope," said he, "either to receive another "army, or to conquer with that which we have "with us. Nay, supposing we had the advantage, "we ought to relinquish a situation, which is well "known at all times to be unhealthy for the troops, "and which we now find still more fatal from the "season of the year." It was, indeed, the beginning of autumn; many were already sick, and all were dispirited.

Nevertheless, Nicias could not bear to hear of retiring home; not that he was afraid of any opposition from the Syracusans, but because he dreaded the Athenian tribunals and unfair impeachments. He therefore replied, "That there was no imminent "danger at present; and if there were, he had rather die by the hands of the enemy, than by those "of his fellow-citizens." In this respect he greatly differed from Leo of Byzantium, who afterward [57] said to his countrymen, "I had rather die by you, "than with you." Nicias added, "That upon the "necessity of encamping in another place, they "might determine at their leisure."

Demosthenes urged the matter no farther, because his former counsels had proved unfortunate. And he was the more willing to submit, as he observed others fully convinced that it was Nicias' confident reliance upon his correspondence in the town, which made him so strongly oppose their return to Athens. But fresh forces coming to the assistance of the Syracusans, and the sickness spreading more and more in the Athenian camp, Nicias himself altered his opinion, and ordered the troops to be ready to embark.

Every thing was accordingly prepared for embarkation, and the enemy paid no attention to these movements, because they did not expect them. But in the night there happened an eclipse of th moon, at which Nicias and all the rest, either through ignorance or superstition, were struck with a great panic. As for an eclipse of the sun, hich happens at the conjunction, even the co mon people had some idea of it's being caused by the interposition of the moon. But they could not easily conceive by the interposition of what body the moon, when at the full, should suddenly lose her light, and assume such a variety of colours. They looked upon it therefore as a preternatural

[57] In the time of Alexander the Great.*

phenomenon, by which the gods announced some signal calamity.

Anaxagoras was the first, who with any clearness and certainty showed, in what manner the moon was illuminated and overshadowed. But he was an author of no antiquity[58], neither was his treatise much known; as it was confined to a few hands, and communicated with caution and under the seal of secrecy. For the people had a dislike to natural philosophers, and to those who were then called 'Meteoroleschæ[59],' supposing that they detracted from the divine power and providence by ascribing effects to insensate causes, unintelligent powers, and inevitable necessity. On account of such a system, Protagoras was forced to fly, and Anaxagoras was thrown into prison, whence Pericles with great difficulty procured his deliverance[60]. Even Socrates[61], who meddled not with physics, lost his life for philosophy. At last the glory of Plato enlightened the world, and his doctrine was generally received; both on account of his life, and of his subjecting the necessity of natural causes to a more powerful and divine principle. Thus he removed all suspicion of impiety from such researches, and brought the study of mathematics into fashion. Hence it was that his friend Dion, though the moon was eclipsed at the time of his going from Zacynthus against Dionysius, was not in the least disconcerted, but pursued his voyage and expelled the tyrant[62].

58 He was contemporary with Pericles, and Nicias; for he died, Ol. lxxxviii. 1., and Nicias was killed fifteen years afterward, Ol. xci. 4.

59 *i. e.* 'Inquirers into the nature of meteors.'

60 See his Life, Vol. II.*

61 Socrates informs us, in his Apology, that he had been accused of a criminal curiosity in prying into the heavens, and into the abysses of the earth. He cannot however be said to have lost his life for his philosophy, so much as for his theology.

62 The particulars of this achievement will be detailed in the Life of Dion.*

It was a misfortune to Nicias, that he had not along with him at that time an able soothsayer. Stilbides, whom he had employed upon such occasions, and who used to lessen the influence of his superstition, died a little before. Supposing the eclipse however a prodigy, it could not (as Philochorus observes) be inauspicious to those who wanted to fly, but on the contrary extremely favourable. For whatever is transacted with fear requires darkness; light is it's worst enemy. Besides, upon other occasions (as Autoclides[63] in his Commentaries remarks) people refrained from business only three days after an eclipse of either sun or moon; whereas Nicias wished to stay another entire revolution of the moon[64], as if he could not see her restored to her usual brightness, the moment after she had passed the shadow caused by the interposition of the earth.

He quitted however almost every other care, and sat still observing his sacrifices, till the enemy came upon him, and invested his walls and entrenchments with their land-forces, as well as encircled the harbour with their fleet. Not only the men from their ships, but the very boys from fishing-boats and small barks challenged the Athenians to come out, and offered them every kind of insult. One of these boys named Heraclides, who was of one of the best families in Syracuse, advancing too far, was pursued by an Athenian vessel, and very near being taken. His uncle Pollichus, observing his danger, made up with ten galleys which were under his command; and others, in fear for Pollichus, came forward to support him. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and Eurymedon and great numbers with him were slain.

[63] This should probably be read 'Anticlides;' for he seems to be the same person, whom Plutarch has mentioned in the Life of Alexander, and in his Isis and Osiris. He wrote a History of Alexander, and some other works, as we learn from Voss. Hist. Gr. iii. 1., &c.

[64] Or, as Thucydides (vii. 50) states, 'three times nine days,' on the suggestion of his superstitious or corrupt soothsayers.

The Athenians, not brooking any farther delay, indignantly called upon their generals to lead them off by land. For the Syracusans, immediately after the victory, blocked up the harbour. But Nicias would not agree to it, thinking it dreadful to abandon so many ships of burthen, and nearly two hundred galleys. He therefore embarked his best infantry and a select number of archers and spearmen, and manned with them a hundred and ten galleys, as far as his rowers would supply him. The rest of his troops he drew up on the shore; abandoning the large camp, and his walls which reached to the temple of Hercules. The Syracusans had not for a long time offered the usual sacrifices to that deity, but now both the priests and the generals went to observe the solemnity.

Their troops were embarked; and the inspectors of the entrails promised the Syracusans a glorious victory, provided they did not begin the attack, but only repelled force with force. For Hercules, they said, was victorious only in standing upon the defensive[65], and waiting to be attacked. Thus instructed, the Syracusans set out.

The great sea-fight then began; remarkable not only for the vigour exerted, but for it's having excited as much passion and agitation in the spectators, as in the combatants themselves. For those, who looked on from the shore, could discern all it's various and sudden unexpected turns. The Athenians suffered as heavily from their own order of battle and the nature of their armament, as from the enemy. Their ships were all crowded together, and were moreover very unwieldy; while those of the enemy were so light and nimble, that they could easily change their situation, and attack the

[65] This could hardly be true of a hero, whose labours must have generally implied offensive operations. Of Theseus however, his great imitator, Plutarch remarks (in his Life of that hero, Vol. I.) that on setting off from Trœzene for Athens, he resolved to 'act only upon the defensive.' *

Athenians on all sides[66]. The Syracusans were likewise provided with a vast quantity of stones, which seldom failed of their effect, wherever discharged; whereas the Athenians had nothing to oppose to them but darts and arrows, the direction of which was so much affected by the motion of the ship, that few of them could reach their mark. The enemy was advised to this expedition by Ariston the Corinthian, who after having given signal proofs of his valour, fell just as victory was declaring for the Syracusans.

After such a dreadful defeat and loss, there was no possibility of escaping by sea. At the same time, the Athenians perceived that it was extremely difficult to save themselves by land. In this despair they neither opposed the enemy, who were seizing their vessels close to the shore, nor demanded their dead. They thought it a less deplorable circumstance to leave the dead without burial, than to abandon the sick and wounded. And though they had sad sufferers before their eyes, they looked upon their own case as still more unhappy, since they had many calamities to undergo, and must probably encounter the same fate at last.

They at first designed, however, to begin their march in the night. Gylippus observed the Syracusans employed in sacrifices to the gods, and in entertaining their friends on account of the victory and the feast of Hercules; and he knew, that neither entreaty nor force would prevail upon them to quit the joys of festivity, and oppose the enemy's flight. But Hermocrates found out a method of imposing upon Nicias[67]. He sent some of his confidential friends, who were to pretend that they came from

[66] This, the reader will recollect, was one of the causes, which decided the fate of the Spanish Armada in 1588.*

[67] Hermocrates was sensible of the importance of preventing Nicias from retiring by land. With an army of forty thousand men, which he had still remaining, he might have fortified himself in some part of Sicily, and renewed the war. (Thucyd. vii. 73, 75.)

his old correspondents within the town, and to desire him not to march in the night, as the Syracusans had laid several ambushes for him, and seized all the passes. This stratagem had it's effect. Nicias in the simplicity of his heart, fearing that he should really fall into the enemy's snares, sat still. In the morning, the enemy got out before him. Then indeed they did seize all the difficult passes, threw up works against the fords, broke down the bridges, and planted their cavalry wherever the ground was open and even; so that the Athenians could not move a single step without fighting. They lay close therefore all that day* and the night following, and then began their march with tears and loud lamentations; as if they had been going to quit their own native country, and not that of the enemy. They certainly were in great want of provision, and it was a miserable circumstance to abandon their sick and wounded friends and comrades; yet they looked upon their present misfortunes as small, in comparison with those which were yet behind.

But, among the various spectacles of misery, there was not one more pitiable than that of Nicias himself; oppressed as he was with sickness, and unworthily reduced to hard diet and a scanty provision, when his infirmities required a liberal supply. Yet, in spite of his ill health, he achieved and suffered many things, which the more robust with difficulty endured. All this while his troops could not but observe, it was not for his own sake, or from any attachment to life that he submitted to such labours, but that he seemed still to cherish hope on their account. When dismay and sorrow brought others to tears and complaints, if Nicias ever wept with them,

* To give their soldiers an opportunity of providing themselves as well as circumstances admitted, for the march. (Thucyd. ib.) The whole of this retreat, only to be paralleled perhaps by that of the brave army which perished in Egypt under Louis IX., supplies, as told by the Athenian historian, one of the most highly-finished and affecting pictures of antiquity.*

it was obviously from reflecting upon the melancholy and disgraceful issue of the war, which he had hoped to have finished with so much honour and success. Neither was it only by the sight of his present affliction, that they were moved: recollecting the speeches and warnings, by which he had endeavoured to dissuade the people from the expedition, they could not but think his lot much more unhappy than he deserved. All their hopes likewise of assistance from heaven forsook them, when they observed that so religious a man as Nicias, one who had never thought any expense too heavy in the service of the gods, had no better fortune than the meanest and most profligate person in the army*.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, he still endeavoured by the tone of his voice, by his looks, and by every expression of kindness to the soldiers, to show himself superior to his misfortunes. Nay, through a march of eight days, though attacked and harassed the whole way by the enemy, he preserved his own division of the army tolerably entire; till Demosthenes was taken prisoner and his troops surrounded, after a brave resistance, at a small place called Polyzelium. Demosthenes then drew his sword, and stabbed himself; but as the enemy came immediately upon him, and seized him, he had not time to give himself the mortal stroke.

Some Syracusans rode up to Nicias with this intelligence, and he sent a few of his own cavalry to know the certainty. Finding from their account that Demosthenes and his party were really prisoners, he begged to treat with Gylippus, and offered hostages for reimbursing the Syracusans the whole charge of the war, upon condition that they would suffer the Athenians to quit Sicily. But the Syracusans rejected the proposal, with every mark of insolence and outrage, and again fell upon a wretched

* To this, as well as to his sickness, he piously and pathetically refers in his address to his followers. (Thucyd. ib. 77.)*

man, who was in want of all kinds of necessaries [68].

He defended himself however all that night, and continued his march the next day to the river Asinarus. The enemy galled his troops all the way, and when they came to the banks of the river, pushed them in. Nay some, impatient to quench their burning thirst, voluntarily plunged into the stream. Then followed a most cruel scene of blood and slaughter; the poor wretches being massacred, as they were drinking. At last Nicias threw himself at the feet of Gylippus, and said, "Gylippus, you should show some compas-
"sion amidst your victory. I ask nothing for my-
"self. What is life to a man, whose misfortunes are
"celebrated even to a proverb? But, with respect
"to the other Athenians, consider that the chance
"of war is uncertain; and remember with what hu-
"manity and moderation they treated you, when
"they were victorious."

Gylippus was somewhat affected both at the sight of Nicias, and by his speech. He knew the good offices, which he had rendered the Lacedæmonians, at the last treaty of peace; and he was sensible, that it would contribute greatly to his own honour, if he could take two of the enemy's generals prisoners. Raising Nicias, therefore, from the ground,

68 Thucyd. ib., 83. What a fine hyperbole (justly commended by Longinus, 38.) does this writer give us, sect. 84., of the Athenian sufferings at Asinarus! Και το ὑδωρ ευθυς διεφθαρτο. Αλλ' ουδεν ἡσσον επινετο τε ὁμου τῳ πηλῳ ᾑματωμενον, και περιμαχητον ην τοις πολλοις. 'The water was instantly rendered unfit for drinking. Yet was it not the less greedily drunk, though mingled with mire and blood, and it became even to many an object of strong competition!' For similar, though inferior, disasters see Cicero's account of Darius in his flight (Tusc. Quæst. v. 34.), and Lucan's inflated narrative of the sufferings of Petreius and Afranius' forces, when cut off by Cæsar from all communication with the Ebro. (Phars. iv. 308, &c.) But were the Syracusans to blame? Was it not natural for them to use every means in their power to harass and weaken an enemy, who had ambitiously considered their country as a property?

It may be remarked, that Thucydides has not preserved Nicias' address to Gylippus, though he gives us part of it's spirit. (ib. 85.)*

he bade him be of good cheer; and gave orders that the other Athenians should have quarter. But, as the order was slowly communicated, the number of those who were saved was greatly inferior to that of the slain; though the soldiers had spared several, unknown to their officers.

When the Syracusans had collected all the prisoners whom they could find into one body, they dressed some of the tallest and straightest trees that grew by the river, as trophies, with the arms taken from the enemy. After which they marched homeward, with garlands on their heads, and with their horses adorned in the most splendid manner; having first shorn those of the Athenians. Thus they entered the city, as in triumph, after the happy termination of the sharpest dispute which had ever subsisted between Grecians, and one of the most complete victories which the sun had ever witnessed, gained by a glorious and persevering exertion of firmness and valour.

A general assembly of the people of Syracuse and of it's allies was then held, in which Eurycles [69] the orator proposed a decree; "That, in the first place, the day upon which they took Nicias should be observed as a festival, with the title of Asinaria from the river where that great event had occurred, and that it should be entirely occupied in sacrifices to the gods." This was the twenty-seventh day of the month Carneus, called by the Athenians Metagitnion [70]. As to the prisoners, he proposed, "That the Athenian servants and all the allies should be sold for slaves: that such of the Athenians as were freemen, and the Sicilians their partisans, should be confined to the quarries; and that the generals should

[69] Diodorus Siculus call him Diocles.

[70] Though it is not easy (as we have observed in a former note) to bring the Grecian months to tally with ours, we agree in this place with Dacier, that September is probably meant, or a part of it; because Plutarch had before said, that the sickness set in with 'the beginning of autumn.'

be put to death." As the Syracusans were expressing their approbation of the motion, Hermocrates rose up and said, "It was a more glorious thing to "make a good use of a victory, than to gain one." This remark raised a considerable ferment in the assembly. Gylippus having expressed his desire to have the Athenian generals, that he might carry them prisoners to Lacedæmon, the Syracusans now grown insolent with their good fortune loaded him with reproaches. They could not indeed well bear his severity and Lacedæmonian rigour in command, even while the war lasted. Besides, they had discovered in him (as Timæus observes) 'a degree of avarice and meanness,' inherited like a disease from his father Cleandrides, who had been banished for taking bribes. The son, out of the thousand talents which Lysander sent by him to Sparta, purloined thirty, and hid them under the tiles of his house. Being detected in it, however, as we have related more at large in the Life of that general [71], he fled his country with the utmost disgrace.

Timæus does not agree with Philistus and Thucydides [72], that Demosthenes and Nicias were stoned to death by the Syracusans. Instead of that, he informs us, Hermocrates sent one of his attendants, to acquaint those two generals with what was passing in the assembly; and the messenger being admitted by the guards, before the court was dismissed, these unhappy men despatched themselves. Their bodies were thrown without the gates, and lay there exposed to the view of all, who wished to enjoy the spectacle. I am told that a shield, said to have been Nicias', is shown to this day in one of the temples at Syracuse; the exterior texture of which is gold and purple, and executed with surprising art.

As to the other Athenians, the greatest part perished in the quarries, to which they were con-

[71] Vol. III. p. 207.

[72] Thucydides says (vii. 86.) 'The Syracusans murthered them.' (απεσφαξαν.)*

fined, by diseases and bad diet[73]; for they were allowed only a cotyle of barley a-day, and half a cotyle of water. Many of those who were concealed by the soldiers, or escaped by passing as servants, were sold for slaves, and stigmatised with the figure of a horse upon their foreheads. Several of them, however, submitted to their fate with patience; and the modesty and decency with which they behaved were such, that they were either speedily released, or treated by their masters in their servitude with the utmost respect.

Some there were, who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse, with whom the Sicilians were most in love. From the strangers, who landed in their island, they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said, that upon this occasion a number of Athenians on their return home went to Euripides, and thanked him in the most grateful manner for their obligations to his pen; some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having procured refreshments when they were wandering about after the battle, by singing a few of his verses. Neither is this to be wondered at; since we are told, that when a ship from Caunus[74], which happened to be pursued by pirates, was about to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her; but upon asking the crew, whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel.

The Athenians, it is asserted, did not give credit

[73] Crowded together for eight months in the open air, and alternately parched by the heat of the day, and chilled by the cold of the night, amidst the intolerable stench of ordure and carcasses! See Thucyd. vii. 87. What a lesson for invaders!*

[74] A city of Caria, nearly opposite to Rhodes, and under it's sway.*

to the first report of this misfortune; the person, who brought it, not appearing to deserve their notice. A stranger (it seems) who had landed in the Piræus, while he sat to be shaved in a barber's shop, spoke of it as an event already known to the Athenians. The barber no sooner heard it than, before the stranger could communicate it to any other person, he ran into the city, and applying to the magistrates, informed them of the news in open court. This excited great trouble and dismay. The magistrates immediately summoned an assembly, and introduced the informant. There he was interrogated, from whom he had received the intelligence; and, as he could give no satisfactory answer, he was considered as a forger of false news and a public incendiary[75]. Upon this he was fastened to the wheel, where he bore the torture for some time, till at length some credible persons arrived, who gave a distinct account of the whole disaster. With so much difficulty did Nicias' misfortunes find credit among the Athenians, though he had often forewarned them, that they would certainly come to pass.

[75] Casaubon would infer hence, that the Athenians had a law for punishing the forgers of false news. But this person was punished, less as a forger of false news than as a public incendiary, who by exciting groundless terrors in the people 'aided and abetted' their enemies. (L.)

Upon the subject of spreading false news (περι Λογοποιιας), Theophrastus has an excellent chapter. And it might be more especially reprehensible, though not penal, in Athens; on account of the particular rage for 'something new,' with which they were (even at two later periods) so sarcastically taunted by Demosthenes, and noted by St. Luke.*

THE

LIFE

OF

MARCUS CRASSUS.

SUMMARY

Crassus' birth, education, wealth, and avarice. His calculation of his property. He keeps open house: cultivates oratory. His obliging manner. Marius and Cinna put his brother to death. He escapes into Spain; and is very kindly received by Vibius. He forms an intimate union with Sylla, and renders him several services. His mode of enriching himself. He gives security for Cæsar to a great amount, and preserves his credit with both that general and Pompey. Beginning of the war with Spartacus. Clodius defeated. Spartacus gains several advantages over the Roman generals sent against him. Crassus appointed to oppose him: his lieutenant, Mummius, worsted. Crassus encloses Spartacus in the peninsula of Rhegium: and defeats him. Spartacus beats a detachment of his army, but is again defeated, and slain. Crassus, elected consul with Pompey, and afterward censor, does nothing memorable in either of those magistracies: is suspected of having been privy to Catiline's conspiracy, and enters into a fatal league with Cæsar and Pompey against the republic. Their project. Pompey and Crassus again sue for the consulship; and carry their election by violence. Crassus' extravagant and puerile anticipations. Ateius fruitlessly endeavours to divert him from his Parthian enterprise. He sets out on his expedition: his first successes. He discovers his avarice in Syria; and receives there an embassy from the Parthian king; but in spite of alarming accounts of the enemy, and inauspicious omens at his sacrifices, persists in his undertaking. Treacherous advice of Ariamnes. High

character of Surena. Message of Artavasdes to Crassus. He draws up his army in line of battle. Engagement. Parthian mode of fighting. Crassus despatches his son to chase the enemy: he is killed, and his detachment cut in pieces. Address of Crassus to his army. Night separates the combatants. Crassus' consternation. The Romans retreat to Carræ. One of his lieutenants defeated by the Parthians. Surena's stratagem to discover, whether or not Crassus was in Carræ. Crassus betrayed by Andromachus, whom he had chosen as guide in his flight. Surena invites him to an interview, which he is constrained by his troops to grant. He is assassinated; and his army almost entirely destroyed. His head and hand sent to Orodes. His death finally avenged by Divine Justice.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers; both of whom married while their parents were living, and all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow into his house, and had children by her[1]. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licinia. For this, Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus. She had a beautiful country-house, it seems, which Crassus wishing to purchase at an under-price, paid

[1] Upon the subject of incestuous marriages, under the old and new civil law of Rome, M. Ricard has a long and learned note; but it may be sufficient in this place to remark that these, as far as affinity was concerned, only occurred when that affinity was in a direct line, between parents and their step-children or children-in-law. Collaterally, with brothers' or sisters' relics, &c. they were anciently lawful, especially if there were no children by the preceding connexion. See Cic. pro P. Quint. 6.*

his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence incurred that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of the affair, acquitted him of the charge of having corrupted the vestal; and he never let her rest, till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that single vice of avarice, which cast a shade over his many virtues. He appeared indeed to have but one bad quality, because by it's predominance it quite obscured the rest. His love of money was most evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first, it did not exceed three hundred talents. But during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread-corn to each citizen for three months, he found upon an exact computation, that he was master of seven thousand one hundred talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla took Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both accounted and denominated the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who declined no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed likewise, how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together[2]. In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and continued to collect them till he had upward of five hundred. He then made it his business to buy houses which were on fire, and others adjoining to them; and he commonly got them at a low price, on account of the fear and distress of the owners about the event.

[2] The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood after the Gauls had burnt the city.

Hence, he gradually became master of great part of Rome. But, though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than the single house in which he lived. For he used to say, "Those who "loved building will soon ruin themselves, and need "no other enemies."

Though he had several silver-mines and lands of high value, as well as labourers who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that his revenue from these sources was nothing in comparison with what he derived from his slaves. Such a number he had of them, and all serviceable as readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards, or cooks. He himself attended to their education, and often gave them lessons; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought (as he often said) that "Other matters should be managed by servants, "but servants by masters." Economics indeed, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve merely the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong however in affirming, that "no man ought to be esteem-"ed rich, who could not with his own revenue "maintain an army." For, as Archidamus observes, 'it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour;' nor, consequently, can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for it's demands. Very different, in this respect, were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers, at the rate of fourteen acres a-man, and found that they wished for more, he remarked; "I hope no Ro-"man will ever think that portion of land too little, "which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged, that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; to them his

house stood always open. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding it, the very day on which it became due, often made the apparent favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty and the vulgar; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet there was a neatness and an unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than grander banquets.

With regard to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, for the sake of serving his clients. And, though he might be reckoned equal upon the whole to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those, whom nature had more highly favoured. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey and Cæsar and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose, and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This his promptitude to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular circumstance. And his obliging manner, in his common address, had an equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history also is said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher, named Alexander[3]; a man who, during his acquaintance with Crassus, gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition. For it is not easy to say, whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left, his house. He was the only friend, that Crassus would take with him into the country; upon which

[3] Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is also called Polyhistor and Cornelius, and who is said to have flourished in the time of Sylla.

occasions he would lend him a cloke for the journey, and demand it again when he returned to Rome. Wonderful indeed was that man's patience; particularly, if we consider, that the philosophy which he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent[4]. But this was a later circumstance in Crassus' life.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already seized, and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being then a very young man, escaped the present danger. But as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his prætorship, and gained himself friends. There too he found the minds of men full of terror, and trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present. He did not, therefore, venture to apply to any of his friends in public: instead of that, he went to a farm which Vibius Pacianus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave. Thence he despatched one of his servants to sound Vibius, for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of his party, and the place of his retreat. He did not indeed wait on him in person, but immediately sent for the steward of that particular farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He farther charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

[4] The philosophy of Aristotle, as well as that of Plato, reckoned riches among real blessings, and looked upon them as conducive to virtue.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea; and the surrounding rocks, by which it is formed, admit only a slight and agreeable breeze. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty; and the compass of it is so extensive, that it has several large caverns, like a suite of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or of light. An excellent spring flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at the top, through which day-light is admitted. The interior air likewise, on account of the thickness of the rock, is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream[6].

In this asylum Crassus had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies also for pleasure; for Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that regard should be paid to his time of life, and as he was very young, that he should have some particular indulgences on that account: to supply merely his necessities, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. He therefore one day took with him two handsome maid-servants, and walked toward the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldly in, for they had nothing to fear. Crassus, when he saw them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They replied, as they had been instructed, "That they "were come to seek their master, who lay there "concealed." Upon which, he perceived it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to

[6] This indeed, as in the celebrated cave of Castleton, Derbyshire, &c. is what alone renders subterranean caves habitable.*

amuse him. He received the damsels therefore, and kept them all the time he staid there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring back answers. Fenestella says [7], he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cinna was dead. He then immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of whom he selected a corps of two thousand five hundred men. With these he visited the cities; and most historians agree, that he pillaged one called Malaca [8]. But others inform us, that he absolutely denied and disclaimed the fact, in the face of those who had spread the report. After this, he collected vessels and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay there long. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men about him in exercise, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus was despatched to levy troops among the Marsi; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's country, he demanded guards of Sylla: "I give thee for guards," said he in an angry and emphatical tone, "thy father, thy "brother, thy friends, thy relations; who have been "unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose "cause I am about to revenge upon their mur-"therers." Roused and inflamed by these words, he passed boldly through the midst of the enemy; raised a respectable army, and in all Sylla's conflicts evinced his attachment and his courage. Hence,

[7] Fenestella wrote several books of Annals. He might very well 'have seen one of these slaves, when she was old;' for he died in the sixth year of Tiberius' reign, at the age of seventy.

[8] *Hod.* Malaga.*

we are told, arose his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had this heavy disadvantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius broke forth amidst these events with such lustre, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed to much older men, or even to those of his own rank. For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him 'Imperator*.'

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides, his innate blemishes, his avarice and his meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder[9] in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the chief part of the plunder to his own use, and was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a considerable number of them killed. In the mean while Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious; and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But, at the time of the proscriptions and confiscations, he lost all the credit which he had gained; buying large estates at an under-price, and often begging others. Nay, in the country of the Bruttians he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never afterward employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet nobody was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was

* See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV. p. 133.

[9] *Hod.* Tadi.*

one of the most covetous of men, no one more hated or censured characters of that description[10]. But it gave him still deeper pain to observe Pompey successful in all his employments, honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of 'the Great.' One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming;" upon which he answered, with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, defending the impeached, lending money, and assisting and canvassing for persons who were candidates for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey had acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent, and distinguishing himself in the field[11]. When present, Crassus often carried the point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur, which he affected. He seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people; and he very rarely served those, who made application to him: imagining that he should thus have his interest entire, when he stood in need of it for himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them, constantly made his appearance, was easy of access, and spent his life in business and good offices; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and stateliness.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were equal. But the emulation, by which Crassus was

[10] It was observed by the late ingenious Mr. Shenstone, that 'a coxcomb will be the first to find out and expose a coxcomb.' Men of the same virtues love each other, for the sake of those virtues; but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

[11] This was not peculiar to Pompey; nor in itself, indeed, extraordinary. It was the case of Marius, as Plutarch has before observed, and many others.

actuated, never carried him to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in higher estimation than himself, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition: though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates in Asia and strictly confined, cried out; "O Crassus, "what pleasure will it give thee, to hear that I am "a captive!" They were subsequently, however, upon a footing of friendship; and when Cæsar was setting out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage because he could not satisfy them, Crassus kindly delivered him from his embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue had more admirers than followers. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterprising espoused the part of Cæsar; Crassus steered a middle course, and availed himself of both. He frequently indeed changed sides, and was neither a firm friend, nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he often gave up both his regard and his resentment, when his interest required it; insomuch that, within a short space of time, he would appear either supporting or opposing the very same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Sicinius, who was a very troublesome character to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "He wears "wisps upon his horns[12]." In this manner the Romans used to mark a vicious bull, as a warning to all persons that passed him.

[12] This passed into a proverb. (See Hor. Sat. I. iv. 31. &c.) Sicinius is mentioned very unfavourably by Cicero. (De Clar. Orat. lx.)

When the gladiators took up arms, and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called 'Spartacus' war.' It's origin was as follows: One Lentulus Batiatus kept at Capua a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes which they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their employer. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape: and though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen by their vigilance effected their purpose, and sallied out of town, having first made themselves masters of all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. Upon the road they met some waggons, carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized and put on. They then retired to a place of strength, and elected three leaders[13]. The first was Spartacus, whose extraction was from one of the Thracian hordes called Nomades; a man, not only of considerable dignity of mind and strength of body, but also of a discernment and a courtesy superior to his fortune. In his manner, in short, he was more of a Greek, than a barbarian.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome for sale, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, pronounced it a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy[14]. This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua, whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of gladiators, as dishonourable

[13] Spartacus, Chrysus, and Œnomaüs. This war began A.U.C. 681., and lasted somewhat less than two years.

[14] And for a gladiator his end was happy. He died fighting gallantly, like a general, at the head of his troops. (Flor. iii. 20.)

and barbarous. Clodius the prætor[15] was then despatched against them from Rome, with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill, where they were posted. To this there was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard: the rest was all a craggy precipice, covered with wild vines. From these the fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength and length to reach the plain below: and thus they all got down safe, leaving one above to let down their arms; who, having executed his commission, descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manœuvre, the gladiators came upon their rear and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in the utmost consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of much bodily vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties, and for other purposes of light-armed troops.

The next general sent against them was Publius Varinus[16]. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a detachment of two thousand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force; and his vigilance was such, that he was very near taking him in the bath at Salenæ: with much difficulty however he escaped, but Spartacus seized his baggage. He then pursued his steps, and took his camp, having first killed great numbers of his troops. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations

[15] Clodius Glaber. (Flor. ib.) In the Suppl. Liv. xcv. 3. 'Claudius Pulcher.'*

[16] In the different editions of Livy Epitom. &c. it is read 'Vandrenus,' and 'Varinius.'

were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his lictors, and the very horse upon which he rode.

By this time he was become strong and formidable: Nevertheless, his views were moderate. He had too much understanding to expect to conquer the Romans; and he therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then dismiss his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they traversed Italy and laid it waste.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt, which afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger: and they now employed both the consuls in this war, as one of the most difficult and important which had ever occurred. One of these magistrates, Gellius, having surprised a body of Germans, who in their rashness and self-confidence had separated from the body of Spartacus' army, entirely defeated them and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other, endeavoured to surround Spartacus with his superior number of troops: but that chieftain met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route toward the Alps; but he was opposed by Cassius who commanded in that part of Gaul near the Po, and advanced against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated with considerable loss, and with difficulty saved himself from being taken prisoner.

No sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the utmost indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person, whom they selected as the successor; and many of the nobility served under him as volunteers, as well on account of his political

influence, as out of personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus who was to march that way. At the same time, he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, on the first promising occasion engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new-armed his men; but insisted withal, that they should find security for their keeping those arms, with which they were now entrusted. The first five hundred, who had shown the grossest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decad to death by lot; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment, which had been long disused. This kind of punishment indeed is the deepest mark of infamy, and being carried into execution before the whole army, is attended with many aweful and affecting circumstances.

After having thus chastised his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back, and retired through Lucania to the sea. There happening to find a number of vessels in harbour, belonging to the Cilician pirates, he resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where at the head of two thousand men he thought he could easily rekindle the Servile war, which had but lately been smothered [17], and which required only a little fuel to make it flame out afresh. Accordingly, the pirates entered into an agreement with him; but they had no sooner received his money, than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus duped, quitted the sea, and entrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

[17] It was only nineteen years before, that a period had been put to the Servile war.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he ought to take, and accordingly determined to build a wall across the Isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was arduous and difficult. Nevertheless he finished it, beyond all expectation, in a very short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth, and as many in depth: he built a wall, also, above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus, at first, made a jest of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wished to go elsewhere, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time he was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials; and so passed it with the third part of his army. Crassus now began to fear that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would immediately march to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, on some difference or other, had separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as at some times to be sweet and fresh, and at others so salt that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake; but he could not do any considerable execution, or continue the pursuit very far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied his fugitives.

Crassus now repented of his having written to the senate, "that it was necessary to recall Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain," and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general, who should come to his assistance, would rob him of the whole honour. He resolved therefore, in the first place, to attack the troops

which had revolted and formed a separate body under the command of two officers, named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march better, covered their helmets and the rest of their arms. Two women however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them; and they would probably have been all cut off, had not Crassus immediately advanced, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired toward the mountains of Petelia [18]; and Quintus one of Crassus' officers, and Scropha the quæstor, marched after him in order to harass his rear. But Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor who had been wounded in the skirmish. This success was Spartacus' ruin. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they determined no longer, in obedience to their officers, to decline a decisive action; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing, which Crassus desired. He had been informed of Pompey's approach; and of the many speeches, addressed to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was

[18] The capital of Lucania (Strabo, ii.) founded by Philoctetes. See also Virg. Æn. iii. 402.*

asserted that this laurel belonged to him, and that as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus therefore hastened to give that stroke himself, and with the same view encamped very near the enemy. One day, when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides, to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case necessarily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of "this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. Him indeed he did not reach, but he slew with his own hand two centurions, who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He still however stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with the utmost gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus upon this occasion availed himself of every circumstance, with which Fortune favoured him: he performed every act of generalship; he exposed his person in the boldest manner, yet he was only twining a laurel for Pompey's brows. Pompey met (it seems) those, who had escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus "had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a "pitched battle; but that it was he, who had cut "up the war by the roots[19]."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to solicit

[19] *Labore alieno magno partam gloriam*
Verbis sæpe in se transmovet, qui habet salem. Ter.

See the Life of Pompey, Vol. IV. p. 148.

the greater triumph; and even the less, which is led up on foot under the name of an Ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. In what respects this differs from the other, and whence the term 'Ovation' is derived, we have stated in the Life of Marcellus[20].

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and, though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same honour, yet he scrupled not to crave his good offices. This application Pompey received with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He therefore readily espoused his cause; and at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, "He was as much indebted to them "for the collegue whom they had given him, as for "their favour to himself." The same good understanding, however, did not long continue: they differed about almost every article which came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their effecting any thing considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a splendid sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight named Ovatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country and was a man of no great note, mounted the Rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision which had appeared to him: "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in "a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this "public manner, that you are not to suffer the con- "suls to lay down their office before they become "friends." When he had ended his speech, the people insisted that they should be reconciled.

[20] See Vol. II.*

Pompey stood without making any motion toward it; but Crassus went, and offered him his hand: "I "am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "neither do I think it beneath me to make the first "advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with "the name of 'Great' while he was yet but a "beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a "triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable events in Crassus' consulate. His censorship passed without any thing worth mentioning[21]. He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators: he neither reviewed the equestrian order, nor numbered the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the best-natured men in the world, was his collegue: and it is said that, when Crassus wished to adopt the violent and unjust measure of rendering Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it. Hence arose the difference between them, in consequence of which they both resigned their charge.

When the alarming conspiracy of Catiline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having had some concern in it. Nay, there was one, who named him among the conspirators: but nobody gave any credit to his information[22]. Cicero (it is true) in one of his Orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public, till both those illustrious

[21] He was censor six years after his consulship.

[22] Sallust says otherwise. He informs us, that to some it appeared incredible, but that others believed it. Yet, not thinking it adviseable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers, and those who owed him money, in crying out 'it was a calumny, and the senate ought to exculpate him;' which, accordingly, they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, that the informer had been suborned by Cicero. But what object could Cicero have in view in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and the people with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself by entering into a plot to burn a city, in which his own property was so considerable? (See Bell. Catil. xlix.)

men were dead. On the other hand the same Cicero, in the Oration which he delivered relative to his consulship, expressly says that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter into his hands evincing the reality of the plot, about which they were then inquiring. Be that as it may, it is certain that Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have shown it by some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented him. Publius was a man of letters, and particularly fond of eloquence: hence his attachment to Cicero was so strong, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last, he even prevailed upon his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not apply to either of them in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; neither could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, once more to effect a reconciliation between them: for which purpose he represented, "That by their quarrels "they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos; "who would be nothing, if they were themselves "but once real friends, and took care to act in con-"cert. If that were the case," said he, "with "your united interests and counsels you might carry "all before you."

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate, which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey derived any advantage from their union; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour,

they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he established himself as in an impregnable castle. For they imagined, if they did but secure to him the province which had fallen to his lot, they might divide the rest between themselves at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power, which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice now added a new one: the achievements, the victories, and the triumphs of Cæsar raised in him a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior to him in others. He therefore never let himself be at rest or peace, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two to divide the remaining provinces and armies between them. There was no way however to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote at the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were strongly suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Upon which, Marcellinus and Domitius[23] asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" to which he replied, "Perhaps I may; perhaps I "may not." And, upon their interrogating him a second time, he said; "If I solicit it, I shall solicit

[23] Domitius Ahenobarbus.

"it for men of honour, and not for men of a meaner "principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be "for the public good, I shall solicit it; if not, I "shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but, as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "Not to abandon his prospects, but to "stand up boldly for the liberties of his country. "Pompey and Crassus," he told him, "were not "seeking the consulship, but absolute power; nei- "ther was it so much their aim to be chief magis- "trates at home, as to seize the provinces, and to "divide the armies between them."

Having thus expressed his real sentiments, Cato drew Domitius almost forcibly into the Forum, and numbers joined them there: for they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why "do they demand," said they, "a second consul- "ship? Why together? Why not with others? "Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to "entitle them to be collegues with either Crassus, "or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they way-laid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day-break, accompanied by his friends; killed his torch-bearer, and wounded Cato, and many others of his train. They then shut them all up together, till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little while after this, they confined Domitius to his house, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the Forum, and slew several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they continued Cæsar in his government for five years more,

and obtained Syria and both the Spains as provinces for themselves. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

This allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They wished to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, when it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the most extravagant joy, as if it had been the principal happiness of his life; insomuch that, even before strangers and the populace, he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the wildest and most puerile anticipations, in a manner totally unsuitable to his age and disposition; for in general he was far from being pompous, or inclined to vanity. But now, elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the oriental ocean, and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the entire east.

In the law relative to Crassus' government, no mention was made of a war in it's neighbourhood, but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it; and Cæsar, in the letter which he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was about to set forward, Ateius one of the tribunes threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not, without indignation, think of his commencing hostilities against a people who had done them no injury, and who were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at this, desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration in which he was held by the populace; and upon this occasion, though many wer prepared to withstand Crassus and to raise a clam

against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. He then ordered one of his officers to seize him: but the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius upon this ran forward to the gate, and placed there a censer [24] with fire in it. On Crassus' approach, he sprinkled incense upon it, and offered libations, uttering the most horrid imprecations, and invoking at the same time by name certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such power [25], that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay (they add) the person, who utters them, is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake, that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country which he laid under that terrible curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundusium; and though the winter-storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost many vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route by land through Galatia. He there paid his respects to Deiotarus [26], who though an old man was building a new city.

[24] Upon this kind of dish Dacier has a note, chiefly it appears in order to introduce Seneca (Ep. lxxxv.) inveighing against the profane adoption of it for the purposes of epicurism; *ne quid palato jam calloso parùm ferveat, cœnam culina prosequitur.**

[25] ———*Dira detestatio*
Nullâ expiatur victimâ. (Hor. Ep. v. 90.)

[26] The king of Galatia, who followed Pompey's interests, but was forgiven by Cæsar upon the intercession of Cicero. How strongly does Horace's remonstrance apply in this instance!

Tu secanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulcri
Immemor, struis domos. (Od. II. xviii. 19.)*

Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at "the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and replied, "You don't set out, gene-"ral, very early in the morning against the Par-"thians!" Crassus indeed was then about sixty years of age, and he looked much older than he really was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs at first prospered to the full extent of his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and only one stood upon it's defence. The prince, who governed it, was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about a hundred men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia[27]. Crassus, on taking it, suffered his army to salute him 'Imperator,' which reflected no small disgrace upon him; as it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting any thing considerable, to value himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns which had submitted, with seven thousand foot and a thousand horse, he returned into Syria to winter. He was there joined by his son, whom Cæsar sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours and at the head of a thousand select horse.

Among the many errors, which Crassus committed in this war, the first and one of the greatest was his returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have advanced, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were heavily censured, having more of the trader in them, than of the general. In-

[27] It lay in the province of Osrhoëne, in Mesopotamia.

stead of examining into the state of his soldiers' arms, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was enquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis [28]. And, though he had settled the quotas of troops, which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money, which exposed him to the contempt even of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, and others Nature, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of every good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when embassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in the following short speech: "If this "army be sent against the Parthians by the Roman "people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and irreconcileable hostility. But if "Crassus, against the inclinations of his country (as "we understand is the case) to gratify his own avarice has undertaken this war, and invaded one of "the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more "moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus' "age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he "considers them rather as in prison than in garri-"son." To this, Crassus boastingly answered, "He "would give them his answer at Seleucia." Upon which Vagises the oldest of the embassadors laughed,

[28] About twenty miles from the Euphrates stood a city, known by the several names of Bambyce, Edessa, and Hierapolis. By the Syrians it was called Magog. The goddess Atargatis was worshipped there with great devotion. Lucian (De Deâ Syriâ) speaks of her temple, as the richest in the world. (L.)

Steph. Byzant. mentions three other cities of this name; one between Phrygia and Lydia, celebrated for it's warm springs, another in Crete, and a third in Caria.*

and turning up the palm of his hand replied, "Cras-
"sus, here will hair grow, before thou seest Seleu-
"cia."

The embassadors then returned to their king Orodes[29], and told him he must prepare for war. In the mean time, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities which they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They had been eye-witnesses (they said) "to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful "manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And as it is usual for fear to magnify it's object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when "they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They "have a new and strange sort of arrows, which "are swifter than lightening, and strike their mark "before you can see that they are discharged. The "offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through every "thing, and the defensive arms are so well tempered, "that they do not give way to any thing."

Upon hearing this, the courage of the Romans began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not unlike the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never risk an engagement. But now they found that they had to face war and danger which they had not expected: insomuch that several of the principal officers thought Crassus ought to stop, and call a council, to consider whether new measures should not be taken. Of this number, was Cassius the quæstor. Besides,

[29] Here the king of Parthia is called 'Orodes,' or 'Hyrodes,' who before was called 'Arsaces.' Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this particular prince. He was the son of Phraates II. and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this, he deservedly died the same kind of death. See Dion Cass. xxxix. 56., Justin. xxii. 3.

the soothsayers whispered that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. He paid no attention to them, however, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions,* by the arrival of Artavasdes[30] king of Armenia. That prince came with six thousand horse, which he said were only his body-guard. He promised Crassus ten thousand more armed at all points, and thirty thousand foot, to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by the way of Armenia. "By these means," said he, "you "will not only have abundance of provisions, with "which I shall take care to supply you; but your "march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of "mountains and through a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength "consists." Crassus received his tender of service, and his noble offer of succours, but coldly; and said, "He should march through Mesopotamia, where he "had remaining a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma[31], he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightenings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed a great part of his bridge. The place likewise, which he had marked out for a camp, was struck with lightening.

[30] In the text, he is here called 'Artabases;' but Plutarch everywhere afterward denominates him 'Artavasdes.' (L.)

Appian informs us, that Crassus was very grateful for this prince's suggestions, though for the reason here assigned he did not feel himself at liberty to profit by them. Justin. xxii. 2. varies a little from both.*

[31] A Syrian city upon the Euphrates, so called, according to Plin. H. N. v. 24., from the bridge there formed by Alexander, the iron chains of which were still remaining in the time of that writer. (Ib. xxxiv. 15.)

One of the general's war-horses richly caparisoned ran away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, that when the foremost eagle was moved [in order to precede the march] it turned back of it's own accord. Beside these inauspicious tokens, it happened that upon the distribution of provisions to the soldiers, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentiles and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech made to them by Crassus, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said, "He had broken down the bridge, that not "one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add that, in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the Aruspex having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All, who were present at the ceremony, were struck with astonishment; but he only said with a smile, "See what "it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not "slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately afterward, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates with seven legions, nearly four thousand horse, and almost as many light-armed forces. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and informed him, that "they had "not found so much as one man in their excursions; "but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who "appeared to have fled as if they had been pursu-"ed."

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not hazard an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius again addressed himself to the general, and advised him, "To secure "his troops in some fortified town, till he should "have some certain account of the enemy. If he

"did not choose that, he desired him to keep along "the river, till he reached Seleucia. For thus he "would be constantly supplied with provisions from "the vessels which would follow his camp; and, the "river preventing his being surrounded, he would "always have it in his power to fight upon equal "terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes[32]. This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities, which fortune was preparing for Crassus' ruin. Some of his officers, who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes had been indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, in concert with the Parthian officers, he planned a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds into an immense plain, where he might easily be surrounded. For the enemy thought of nothing less, than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

This barbarian then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and artful speaker. He then proceeded to express his admiration of so fine an army, but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time which he had spent in equipment and preparation; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people, who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects and their families to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have to fight," said he, "you "ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king "recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At "present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces

[32] Appian, and Dion Cassius (x. 20.) call him 'Acbarus,' or 'Agbarus.'

"to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of "himself. For his part, he will take care not to "appear in the field."

This story was, in every particular, completely false. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts, with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, in order to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes; while Surena was left with the other, to act against the Romans. Not that the king, as some assert, had any contempt for them; for Crassus, one of the most powerful men in Rome, was not an antagonist whom he could despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary his apprehensions of danger, it is highly probable, made him keep at a distance, and watch the event; in order to which he despatched Surena before him to make trial of the enemy's strength, and to amuse them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person, but in fortune, family, and honour next after the king; and in courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went only upon an excursion into the country, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines: he was attended by a thousand heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. His vassals and slaves, indeed, composed a body of cavalry little short of ten thousand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family, of placing the diadem upon the king's head at his coronation. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, having been the first to scale the wall, and beaten off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not quite thirty years old, his discernment and his opinions were esteemed the best. By these talents he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts first by his too sanguine confidence, and afterward by

his apprehensions and his depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way which was smooth and easy at the onset; but after a while became extremely difficult, on account of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and a vast desert without wood or water, which exhibited no limits on any side to the view. So that his troops were ready to abandon the expedition, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but also on account of the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounded the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect, that they were betrayed; but, when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it. That prince informed Crassus, "That "Orodes had invaded his kingdom with an immense "army, so that he could not at present send the "Romans any succours. He therefore advised "them to march toward Armenia, where with their "united forces they might give Orodes battle. If "Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured "him at least never to encamp upon any ground "favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the "mountains." Crassus, in his resentment and infatuation, would return no answer in writing: he only replied, "He was not now at leisure to think "about the Armenians; but by and by he would "come, and chastise their king for his perfidious-"ness." Cassius was again extremely chagrined, but he would not say any thing more to the general, who was already offended by his remonstrances. He applied however to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these, "O thou vilest of impostors, "what malevolent dæmon has brought thee among

"us? By what potions, by what enchantments, "hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army "into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more "fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman ge- "neral?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them: "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through "Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the "streams, the shades, the baths, and the houses of "refreshment which you there met with? And "will you never remember, that you are traversing "the barren confines of the Arabians and Assy- "rians?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at last before his imposture was discovered. Neither was this without the general's knowledge: yet even then he had the art to persuade him, that he was going upon some scheme to throw the enemy into disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not make his first appearance in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals commonly wore, but in a black one; and that, when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards likewise were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the utmost effort. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. In the mean time the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades had been killed by the Parthians, and that they themselves had with great difficulty escaped. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread deep dismay among the

troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarcely understanding enough left, to draw up his army properly. At first, in conformity to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a wide space of ground to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had it's troop of horse allotted to it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general himself took charge of the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balissus, the sight of which, though in itself inconsiderable, gave great pleasure to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as of the fatigue of marching through a sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having procured the best possible intelligence of the number of the enemy and their order, to advance against them at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all finished, he began his march; not leisurely and with the proper pauses necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace, till they came in view of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and to prevent their being betrayed by the glittering of their armour, had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians excite their men to action, not by cornets and trumpets, but by certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and wisely had they adopted it, from observing that, of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and from the gleam of their breast-plates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection, appeared like battalions of fire. Their cavalry likewise, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre not less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well-made; but his feminine beauty did not hold out the promise of such courage, as he actually possessed. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in the utmost disorder, like the Scythians, in order to make themselves look more terrible.

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through the foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back; and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant, Crassus ordered his archers and light-infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far, before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the

battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they observed the force of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their archery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; not needing to take any exact aim, on account of the closeness and depth of the square, in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were large and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; they flew of course with prodigious power, and the wounds which they inflicted were mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with a degree of dexterity inferior only to that of the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and by fighting all the while escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes, that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But as soon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy stood a number of camels loaded with arrows, whence the first ranks after they had emptied their quivers were supplied afresh, Crassus seing no end to his sufferings, experienced the deepest distress. He sent directions, however, to his son to march up to the enemy, and charge them if possible, before he was quite surrounded; for it was principally against him, that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of attacking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took thirteen hundred horse (including the thousand received from Cæsar), five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about in

order to come to the charge. The Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid (as some have stated) to meet a detachment which advanced against them in such good order, or wished to draw young Crassus as far as they could from his father, turned their backs and fled[33]. The young man cried out, "They dare not stand against us," and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus[34]; the latter a man celebrated for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly his co-evals.

The cavalry kept advancing, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind; for they imagined, they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far, before they found themselves fatally deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans upon this made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, as their number was but small. The Parthians however only formed a line of their heavy-armed cavalry opposite to their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round and raise up the sand and dust, till the Romans could scarcely either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the

33 It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops, which were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantages which they possessed in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

34 It is not easy to say, of what Roman name 'Megabacchus' could be the corruption. Xylander tells us, he found in an old translation 'Coci Plancus' That translator, probably, had the authority of some MS. (L.) Still more probably, as Appian gives him the same name, he was one of the barbarian friends of the Romans, either a native of that part of Asia, or one of the thousand cavalry sent by Cæsar from Gaul.*

enemy. Their death, likewise, was both painful and lingering. They rolled about in agony with the arrows sticking in them, and before they died endeavoured to pull out the barbed points, entangled within their veins and sinews; an effort, which only widened their wounds, and added to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were unfit for action. When Publius[35] desired them to attack the heavy-armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means equal, with respect either to attack or to defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses, which were made of raw hides or of steel; while the enemy's strong pikes easily made an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops, in whom he had placed his chief confidence, and indeed he achieved wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them off their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarcely stir on account of the weight of their armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses mad with pain plunged, and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What most distressed the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they had lost the chief part of their horses, by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to return to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was

[35] Young Crassus.

much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all round, thinking that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It turned out, however, quite otherwise. As long as they were upon plain ground, the foremost ranks afforded some shelter to those behind; but upon an acclivity the unevenness of the ground showed one above the other, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape: they fell therefore promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræ[36]. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ischnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, "There was no death, however "dreadful, the fear of which should induce Publius "to desert so many brave men dying for his sake." At the same time, he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he exposed his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. Megabacchus dispatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above five hundred prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were thus circumstanced: after he had ordered his

36 In Mesopotamia, as well as Ischnæ mentioned below.*

son to charge the Parthians, intelligence was brought him that they were flying with the utmost precipitation, and that the Romans were pursuing them with equal briskness. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble; for the greatest part of them were then gone after his son. Upon this, he in some degree recovered his spirits, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the last having with much difficulty escaped, told him, "His "son would be lost, if he did not receive large and "immediate succours." Crassus, distracted by different passions, was unable to form any rational scheme. On one hand, he was apprehensive of sacrificing the whole army; and, on the other, he was anxious for his son's preservation; at last, however, he resolved to march to his assistance.

In the mean time, the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums, bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with Publius' head upon a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gal-"lant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the "greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the "world."

This spectacle broke and depressed the spirits of the Romans, more than all their other calamities. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as it might naturally have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor throughout the whole army. Nevertheless Crassus, upon this melancholy occasion, behaved with more magnanimity than he had ever before

displayed. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. In you, the "fortunes and the glory of Rome stand safe and "undiminished. If you have any pity for me, bereaved as I am of the best of sons, show it by "your resentment against the enemy. Put an end "to their triumph; avenge their cruelty. Be not "astounded at this disaster; those must always "have something to endure, who aspire to great "things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor "Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. "Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they "reduced Sicily, and many illustrious officers and "generals in Italy; but no previous suffering prevented their finally subduing the conquerors. For "it is not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she has at all "times combated adversity, that Rome has risen to "her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many listen to him with pleasure. He perceived that their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle: for their shout was feeble, and languid, and unequal, whereas that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy-armed, charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but they did not do much execution. Their only advantage consisted in being speedily despatched by the deep wounds received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such force, that they often pierced through two men at once[37].

The fight continued in this manner all day; and

[37] In this there is nothing incredible: it is frequently done by the Tartars, who pursue the same mode of fighting at this day.

when the barbarians were on the point of retiring, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to "bewail his son; if he did not in the mean time "consider better, and rather choose to go and sur-"render himself to Arsaces, than be carried to him." They then sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a dismal night to the Romans. They neither took any care to bury the dead, nor paid any attention to the wounded, many of whom were expiring in the utmost agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore, which now appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a material objection likewise against retiring, in the wounded; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they considered him as the cause of all their miseries, yet they wished him to make his appearance, and to speak to them. But he had covered his head in darkness, and stretched himself upon the ground: a sad example, to the vulgar, of the instability of fortune; and, to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill-placed ambition! Not contented with being the first and the most eminent among many millions of men, he had regarded himself as despicably low, because there were two above him [38].

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground, and to console him; but they found, that he had entirely abandoned himself to despair. They then by their own authority summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved that they should retire. Accordingly, they began to

[38] This was the very principle which ruined Haman, whose elevated station 'availed him nothing, so long as he saw Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate.' (Esth. v. 13.) *

do so without sound of trumpet, and at first with some degree of silence. But when the sick and wounded perceived that they were about to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies. They often missed their way, and often stopped to range themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burthen, and to put others on. All this occupied a considerable time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin; and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Coponius, who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. He then, without explaining himself any farther, or acquainting them who he was, proceeded as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means he saved himself and his troop, but at the same time incurred considerable censure for having deserted his general.

Crassus, however, found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer, considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message had been delivered betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and, as soon as he learned that Crassus was marching that way, went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those who had been left behind in the camp, and despatched them, to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others, straggling about upon the plain. One of the Roman officers named Varguntius, who had strayed in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. This little corps the barbarians

surrounded and killed, with the exception of twenty men, who made their way sword in hand through the opening files of the enemy, and arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus with the best of his officers and troops had escaped, and that those who had retired into Carræ were only a mixed multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory: but not being absolutely certain, he wished for better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or leave it and pursue Crassus whithersoever he might have fled. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and acquaint them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus, he accepted the proposal. And not long afterward, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who were well acquainted with the persons of Crassus and Cassius, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, "Surena was ready "to conclude a peace with them, on condition that "they would enter into terms of friendship with "the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia; "for he thought this more advantageous to both, "than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians promised, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wished for a truce, they must deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, deeply afflicted at finding themselves so grossly duped, informed Crassus that he must renounce his distant

and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ, till the moment it was carried into execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious among them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step, that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way and sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several, who conjectured from this shifting and turning that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. Cassius himself returned to Carræ; and, when his Arabian guides advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am still more afraid "of the Sagittary[39]." After which, making the best of his way, he arrived in Assyria with five hundred horse. Others finding faithful guides reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit.

In the mean time day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering in bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length, with much labour and difficulty, he regained the road; but by this time the enemy were coming up. Crassus was now not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. As he could not how-

39 Alluding to the Parthian archers.

ever join him, he retired to a hill not so secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius therefore could perceive Crassus' danger, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. They then took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, so long as one of them was left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say that the king did not desire perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather engage their friendship by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat; and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advanced gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand invited Crassus to an agreement. "The king," he said, "had "hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs "of his power; but that now he would with plea- "sure evince his moderation and clemency, in com- "ing to terms with the Romans, and suffering them "to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with great rapture. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery, and who thought this sudden change in their behaviour a most suspicious circumstance, instead of accepting the overture, stood deliberating. Upon this, the soldiers raised a loud outcry, and bade him go down. They

then proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the "weapons of the Parthians, but he did not dare to "meet them himself, even when they had laid down "their arms, and demanded only a friendly confe-"rence."

At first, he had recourse to entreaties; and represented to them that, if they would but hold out for the remainder of the day, they might in the ensuing night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and implored them not to forego the hopes of safety now so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and menacingly clashed their arms, he was terrified and began to go down: only turning round for a single moment to utter these few words: "You Octavius, "and you Petronius, and all you Roman officers "here present, are witnesses of the dishonourable "violence, by which I am constrained to take this "step. But when you are safe, pray inform the "world, not that I was abandoned by my country-"men, but that I was deceived by the enemy."

Octavius and Petronius however would not stay behind, but descended the hill with him. His lictors likewise would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons who met him on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half-breed. These dismounted, and made him a low reverence; and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surena and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his "life had been of any account with him, he should "not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless, he despatched two brothers of the name of Roscius before him to inquire, upon what footing and with how many attendants they were to meet. Those messengers Surena seized and detained, while he himself advanced with his principal officers on

horseback. "What is this," said he, "that I behold? A Roman general on foot, while we are on horseback!" He then ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no mistake on either side, since he came to treat after the manner of his country." "Then," said Surena, "from this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans. But the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates; for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." At the same time, he offered him his hand: and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." A horse was, accordingly, brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having seated Crassus upon it, began to drive him forward. Upon this, Octavius laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, one of the legionary tribunes. Afterward the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those, who pressed on each side upon Crassus. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; but was himself slain by another, who came up behind him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breast-plate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was despatched by a Parthian, named Pomaxæthres[40]; though some affirm, that another person killed him, and that Pomaxæthres cut off his head and his right-hand. All these circumstances indeed must be related rather from conjecture, than from knowledge. For part of the attendants were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest on the first alarm had run up the hill.

After this, the Parthians went, and addressed

[40] Appian calls him 'Maxæthres,' and in some copies of Plutarch he is called 'Axathres.' Crassus fell A. U. C. 701., B.C. 53.

themselves to the troops at the top. They told them, that Crassus had met with the reward which his injustice deserved; but, as for themselves, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise, some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but of those, very few escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken captive, or put to the sword. It is said that in all there were twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Surena sent Crassus' head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithstanding which, he ordered his messengers to report at Seleucia, that he was bringing him thither alive. Pursuant to this rumour he prepared a kind of mock procession, which by way of ridicule he called 'a triumph.' Caius Pacianus, who of all the prisoners most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe after the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of general. Thus accoutred, he proceeded on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and on the axes of the lictors the heads of Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon Crassus' cowardice and effeminacy.

These things were to amuse the populace: after which Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides called 'Milesiacs.' Neither was this a groundless invention, to blacken the Romans. For the books, being actually found in the baggage of Rustius[41], gave Surena an excellent opportunity of saying many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who even

[41] One of the Bodleian MSS. has it 'Roscius;' perhaps one of the two brothers of that name already mentioned.

in the time of war could not refrain from such abominable publications and libidinous practices.

This scene reminded the Seleucians of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw that Surena had placed the Milesian obscenities in the fore-part of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian Sybaris[42], with a long train of carriages full of harlots; insomuch, that his army resembled the serpents called 'Scytalæ.' Fierce and formidable in it's head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war-horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited nothing but prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with prostitutes. Rustius was, undoubtedly, to be blamed; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the Milesiacs, when many of the Arsacidæ, who filled the throne, were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister, and his son Pacorus. Upon this occasion, they freely went to each other's entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented. For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had himself written tragedies, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the Bacchæ of Euripides, and in the midst of the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were expressing their ad-

[42] Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for it's luxury and effeminacy. (L.) The fable alluded to is that, which Persius has moralised in his two excellent lines:

Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere, nemo!
At præcedenti spectatur mantica tergo. (iv. 23.)

For an account of the serpent Scytale, see Columella de R. R vi. 17.; and for a specific against the dangerous wounds inflicted by it's small teeth, Plin. H. N. xxxii. 5.*

miration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment prostrated himself before the king, and laid Crassus' head at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants by the king's order placed Sillaces at the table. Upon this, Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had himself appeared; and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung the part in which Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her Thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion;

> Hither our toils we bring: On yonder brow
> We pierced the lordly beast [44].

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on: The Chorus asks,

> Who gave the blow?

Agave answers,

> Mine, mine's the prize.

Pomaxæthres, who was then sitting at the table, on hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual upon such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the exodium [44] [or farce] after it.

Divine justice, however, punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. The prince, envying the glory which his general had acquired,

[43] Bacch. 1168.*

[44] Exodium, in it's original sense, signified the 'catastrophe of the tragedy,' the 'unravelling of the plot;' and it preserved that sense among the Greeks. But, when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they transferred to them the denomination in question.

soon afterward put him to death[45]; but losing his son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell himself into a languishing disorder, which changed to a dropsy. His second son, Phraates, seized this opportunity to give him aconite. Finding however that the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands[46].

NICIAS AND CRASSUS

COMPARED.

ONE of the first things which occurs in this comparison is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less ex-

[45] About B. C. 52.*

[46] There have been more execrable characters, but there is not perhaps in the whole history of mankind one more contemptible, than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth; and to this the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient. If he ever exhibited any public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, his transports did not spring from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles into the east: they were only the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command, for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We indignantly behold the Roman squadrons standing, by his arrangement, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or the defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry must surely have been known in a country, where it was so much dreaded. It was therefore the first business of the Roman general to have avoided those countries, which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe, even to the gross arts of the barbarians; and, to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of thirty thousand Romans.

ceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines indeed does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias' character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of whom toil in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their existence. But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when placed in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things, as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters for which he was reproached, and which he denied, *viz.* his selling his vote in the senate, his extorting money from the allies, his over-reaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of bad men; nothing of this kind was ever imputed to Nicias, even by slander herself. With regard to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule, and was unworthy perhaps of a Pericles and an Aristides; but indispensable for Nicias, with his innate timidity of character. It was a thing, of which Lycurgus the orator subsequently made a merit to the people: when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, "I rejoice," said he, "that after having been so long employed in the "administration, I am discovered to have given "money, and not taken it."

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been the more public-spirited. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and indeed his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myriads of men and supplying them afterward with bread. But I should be surprised, if there were any one, who did not perceive that this vice is nothing but an ine-

quality and inconsistency of character; particularly, when he observes men honourably expending that money, which they have dishonourably accumulated. So much with respect to their riches.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence, or effrontery. On the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and was ever timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again as his interest required, is justly charged with illiberal duplicity. Neither could he deny that he made use of violence to obtain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly held for the allotment of the provinces, many citizens were wounded, and four actually killed. Nay, Crassus himself struck a senator named Lucius Annalius, one of his opponents, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance, which escaped us in his Life), and drove him out of the Forum covered with blood.

But, if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too cowardly. His poltroonery, and mean submission to the most abandoned persons in the state, deserves the heaviest condemnation. Besides, Crassus displayed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he ably maintained the dispute with them for power, and in the high honour of the censorship rose even superior to the latter. For he who seeks to stand at the helm should consider, not what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by it's lustre eclipse envy itself. But, if security and repose are to be consulted above all things; if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the Rostrum, of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace; then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford

you a corner, to which you may retire, and where you may weave for yourself, as some of the philosophers speak, the 'soft crown of tranquillity.' The love which Nicias had for peace was, indeed, a divine attachment; and his endeavours, during his whole administration, to put an end to the war, were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, even though he had made the Caspian sea or the Indian ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the chief authority should not for a moment give place to the profligate, entrust any charge to the incapable, or place any confidence in the unprincipled. But this Nicias certainly did, in raising Cleon to the command of the army; a man, who had nothing to recommend him, except his impudence and his bawling in the Rostrum. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for having advanced to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence: though his ambition had this excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was much more mean-spirited and absurd. He would not resign to his enemy the honour and trust of commander-in-chief, so long as he could execute that charge with ease, and entertained hopes of success; but, as soon as he saw it attended with extreme peril, he was willing to secure himself, though he thereby exposed the public. It was not thus, that Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man without either capacity or principle to the command, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him by a sum of money to renounce his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On

the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to attack Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians[47]: but if the Lacedæmonians were to be encountered, he put off his armour, and entrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon. In this he was unjust not only to himself, and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians subsequently send him, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease and a want of spirit, which made him anxious to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is however this signal proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually averse from war and always declined the command, yet they never failed to appoint him to it as the ablest and best of their generals. But Crassus, though he was for ever aiming at such an appointment, never succeeded in his wishes, except in the war with the gladiators; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Luculluses were absent. This is the more remarkable, as Crassus had attained a high degree of authority and power. But, it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet[48] expresses himself)

In all trades skill'd, except the trade of war.

This knowledge of his talents, however, availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them rest, till they had assigned him a province. The Athe-

[47] For an account of Melos, see the Life of Alcibiades, II. 134., not. (43.)*

[48] Menander, so denominated by Plutarch κατ' ἐξοχήν, as Homer was emphatically called 'The Poet.' Our author, elsewhere, places Menander far above Aristophanes in dramatic merit.*

nians employed Nicias against his inclination; and it was against the inclination of the Romans, that Crassus was employed. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes; Nicias was involved in misfortunes by his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect it is easier to commend Nicias, than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former, as a prudent general, kept him from being drawn away by the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered: the latter summoned the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this, he found himself dreadfully deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the east, and to conquer the whole of Asia; objects, which Pompey and Lucullus would have accomplished, if it had been in their power. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached, both as to moderation and universal probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the victory. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon that he was victorious; and if he had thence proceeded through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For according to Euripides, if jus-

tice must be violated, and men cannot sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende *, or pursuing the fugitive Æginetæ, who like birds have retired to another country: the price of injustice should be high; so sacred a thing as right should not be banished away for a trifling or common consideration[49]. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event[50].

As to their military performances, several of Nicias' are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Neither were all his miscarriages errors; but they were imputable partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus fell into so many mistakes, that fortune had no opportunity of showing him any favour: and therefore it is less an object of surprise, that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, than that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both equally perished, it is a difficult and delicate matter to pronounce, whether the observation of omens be a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, from a reverence to

* Scandia was the naval arsenal of Cythera (Pausan. iii. 23.), and Mende a city of Thrace, colonised by Eretrians. (Id. v. 27.)*

[49] How bitterly applicable to the attack and plundering of Copenhagen! (1807.)*

[50] This has been justly censured, as an absurd mode of estimating real merit:

——— *Careat successibus, opto,*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat. (Ov. Epist. Her. ii. 86.)

And our Addison, in his Cato, makes Portius say:

'Tis not in mortals to command success;
But we'll do more, Sempronius, we'll deserve it. (i. 2.)

ancient and received opinions, is more pardonable than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

In the close of his life, however, Crassus was less to be reproached. He did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, neither was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the importunity of his friends, he met his fate, and fell a victim to barbarian perfidy. Whereas Nicias, from an unmanly and disgraceful fondness for life, put himself into the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a more dishonourable end.

END OF VOL. III.

Printed by C. Baldwin, New Bridge-street, London.